

Maclean's

THE
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THE SEVENTH ANNUAL
MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL

A Shaken Nation Bares Its Anger



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CANADA'S FAVOURITE NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 7, 1991 VOL 104 NO 1

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COVER

A SHAKEN NATION

The seventh annual Maclean's/Decima poll paints an unsettling portrait of a nation that has lost its way. It reveals a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself. And it shows that Canadians may now be more ready than ever before to accept fundamental and radical changes in the makeup of their country and its system of government—with or without Quebec. — 40



WORLD

FIGHTING OFF 'DARK FORCES'

As oil-worsening food shortages, ethnic violence and political paralysis, the Russian Republic cut its contribution to the Soviet budget, threatening the nation with economic collapse. And President Mikhail Gorbachev struggled to secure approval of his nominee for the new post of vice-president.



PEOPLE

LIFE'S HURTFUL LESSONS



American actress Andie MacDowell plays a lead role in Stephen Frears' new movie, *The Grifters*. Her performance, she says, was influenced by the beatrice she experienced during shooting. MacDowell and her longtime friend Jack Palance were breaking up at the time.

— 56



The Telling Evidence

In many stories, the headlines on the covers are the most telling evidence of a nation going its way. When Maclean's, with Decima Research Ltd., began polling Canadians on their attitudes and outlook in 1984, the cover line read "A Confident Nation Speaks Up." In one survey since that first package, Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman wrote, "Instead of cringing before uncertain economic indicators, shying like at politicians or how to behavioral social reactions, most Canadians of mid-decade are confident about themselves and optimistic about their country." On Sept. 4 of that year, voters had elected a Tory government led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, with the largest number of seats in Canadian history. Last year, the cover line read "An Unsettled Nation." In its opening essay, Executive Editor Carl McLeod wrote, "The Maclean's 1985/86 poll reflected a little division among Canadians, but only over their definition of Canada and what it should be, but also among language groups and regions."

This week's seventh annual poll invited the cover line "A Shaken Nation Brings Its Anger." And in its opening essay, Assistant Managing Editor Robert Marshall commented: "The ties of nationalism are more than ever in danger of snapping. Canadians as a whole are suffering a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself."

Clearly, the annual polls are only snapshots of how Canadians feel at a particular time. But taken together, they leave no room for doubt: that the mood of the nation has deteriorated dramatically in the face of danger on several fronts.

One of those dangers is the recession. But it will pass. Another is the growing momentum towards Quebec's separation and the lack of will in the rest of the country to try to counter that drive. That may not pass. There is also an undeniable and profound loss of faith in the ability of governments to maintain unity. Those imbalances leave no room for complacency.



Marshall and Senior Designer Elizabeth Greenhalge: "a massive loss of confidence"

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LETTERS

CANADIANS IN THE GULF

I wish to commend MacLean's for its beat-down-the-earth style of reporting on our Canadian troops serving in the Persian Gulf region ("The Persian excursion," Cover, Dec. 15). Finally, we may read about the daily goals and tribulations of our own Canadian men and women serving in "Operation Friction," and not of the politics, military strategies and possible consequences of the American effort. It is good to know that you care about our Canadian Forces.

Peter J. Rappaport
St. Catharines, Ont.



Volleyball in the Gulf: "deadly trials"

Not too long ago, small Canadian nations were told to forget the \$200 million they owed Canada. Likewise, several small African nations were also let off the hook for several millions each. If the Boers really and truly meant what he said when he declared personal support for the cbc, these two debts together would keep the cbc going for another two years.

Barbara J. Windfuhr,
Godesberg, Ger.

PASSAGES

APPOINTED: As compensation, the head cook of the Order of Canada, Justice Supreme Court chief justice Brian Dickson, 74, has given up his seat on the Supreme Court. Justice Martha Heyes, 52, by Gov. Gen. Romeo Hynesky, Heyes will make the actual presentation at 11 a.m. yesterday. Dickson, known as a human whose interpretations of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms favored the individual, was chief justice from 1974 until he retired last June. Okey is in agreement who was the Prime Minister's personal representative for the 1982 constitutional review. A stage and film actress, she has also been the whipper-snapper at London, Ont.'s Guelph Theatre since 1980.



Supreme Court Justice Brian Dickson

became a representative state for eight years. In June, the United States Supreme Court recognized Counsel's right to die, the first such ruling in the country. Cuthchuck became a key issue in the debate between right-to-life and right-to-the-death.

MARRIED: Superior Tom Cruise, 28, and Australian actress Nicole Kidman, 23, in Days of Thunder co-star, Cruise, who is currently starring in the Broadway revival of Death of a Salesman, is at her first marriage. Cruise deserved actress Miss Rogers, 25, last January.

DIED: Former American ambassador to the Soviet Union Paul Reckler, 63, a hospital in Jupiter, Fla., died for weeks while the Cuban missile crisis began in October 1962. His widow died yesterday.

CRASH: Car-crash victim Nancy Cranson, 33, died after her parents were allowed to legally remove her feeding tube, in a Mount Vernon, Mo., hospital. Cranson had

EXPLICIT MANIPULATION

When does Madonna get off making a Master statement like "these fantasies exist in all human beings. If we want to deal with them?" ("Justifying the fantasies," People, Dec. 14) She was speaking of low-level, non-dressed-as-women group sex and autoeroticism, and used the statement to legitimate her explicit video *Justify My Love*. The media are the great legitimizers, whether we like it or not. To allow statements like this to go unchallenged gives them a credence they do not deserve. To air a video that is obviously designed to market Madonna under the guise of liberating our fantasies in only fueling the folly among us. I applaud MacLean's and try for refusing to show the video and for not allowing themselves to be manipulated by the "material girl."

Ron Gossage,
Eau Claire, Wis.

GBC CUTBACKS

While it is sad to see the nature of the cutbacks at the cbc ("Cutting the cbc," Canada Special Report, Dec. 17), it is much sadder (and downright frightening) to see the growth in debt created by our federal government. In just six years, Ottawa has almost

many of our institutions, including the cbc, said as these cutbacks are, they are just a drop in the bucket of what really has to be done.

C. C. Morris
Winnipeg

The reason I later publicly owned corporations is that these institutions are allowed to pursue goals that are above the profit goal of private enterprise money. It seems as if Mulroney's government has failed to see beyond the basic goal of profit. It is up to our government to constantly strive to raise the value of Canadians, and to never let them in the pursuit of the shiny dollar, as our Prime Minister is doing with cohorts at the cbc.

Barbara J. Windfuhr,
Godesberg, Ger.

LETTERS

THE WAGES OF FREE TRADE

After reading the series of MacLean's articles that began with "Open borders" (Business Special Report, Dec. 3), it seems that the jury is still out on the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. The prospect of a similar free trade deal with Mexico also looms on the horizon, and Peter C. Newman's column "Dangerous liaisons of the Big Three" (Business Watch, Dec. 20) only confirms this apprehension. Another voice of Mexican opposition leader, Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas, speaking in Vancouver recently, stated that the United States was bullying Mexico into a bad free trade deal in an attempt to gain an cheap labour—"just as it did to Canada." Is there a message for our parliamentarians?

Bert Stenberg,
Barrie, Ont.

Mexican protestor: 'jury is still out'

Many Canadian firms—those that can afford to—will relocate south of the American border, in Mexico. How can Canadian industry be expected to lose money here in Canada when they could make a profitable venture in Mexico?

Andrew Blackwell,
Burliville, Ont.

NO GERMAN CONNECTION

I agree with you that the antisemitism remains in Eastern Europe as a result of the Soviet empire's desire to potentially dangerous ("The dangers of antisemitism," From the Library Desk, Nov. 28). However, I must strongly object to the purging of the German flag as the Berlin Wall accompanying your remarks and the caption concerning last year's hope for reunification among the people of East Germany without antisemitism. The happiness of people separated from their relatives and friends for 45 years at finally being reunited has nothing to do with anti-Semitism or racism of any kind.

Alfredo E. von Hassell,
Chief General of Germany,
Dusseldorf

FOTHE'S CANINE REPAST

I often Pethersphere cannot think of anything more lewdly to do on a Sunday afternoon in New York City than sit at a Selfie restaurant gawking on a weak dog. "The size of a long dog," I feel sorry for her! "Mating rituals of the X-ray crowd," Galore, Dec. 19. But I find even sicker for her friend,

Frances Pethers,
Quebec City

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LETTERS

A SHOOTING DEBATE

The proposed new gun law, C-68, is typical of a Canadian government that is almost completely out of touch with Canadians ("Up in arms," Law, Dec. 18). In its attempt at popularity, it appeals to vocal and often misguided special interest groups (conservatives, anti-founding groups). How can sport shooters, hunters and gun collectors compete against well-financed and well-organized special interest groups and vote-grabbing politicians?

Edward Housé,
London, Ont.

Once again, the issue of gun control in Canada has started its head. With the possible exception of their use by the police and military, I have yet to hear of one logical explanation as to why we need guns at all. Until man abandons firearms, we will continue to have unnecessary loss of life.

Ronald E. Metcalf,
Edmonton, Alta.

Your article on gun control suggests that the proposed legislation gives hunters and hobbyists no time for safety. Far from it. Hunters and recreational shooters have legitimate reasons to use an AG-47. Requiring signatures and a photo on the firearms acquisition permit and introducing a 28-day waiting period is hardly going to be an obstacle. In fact, most of the opposition to the bill is opposition to any form of improved gun control, however mild. Forget that are the representatives by physicians, criminologists, police, mental health professionals and members of the public arguing that the bill does not go far enough.

Wendy Culter,
Chairwoman for Gun Control,
Toronto

A POLITICAL PRESCRIPTION

I firmly believe that what Charles Gordon has stated is the only realistic answer to all our political woes: "We elected you to something," — Colleen, Nov. 26. I agree with every word in his article. Marloes would do the country a service by providing a copy to every politician in the country.

Andy Gray,
Beaumont, Ont.

FPUTTING OUT THE FIRE

I find it hard to sympathize with Graham Baker ("The voice of an angry artist," Opinion Notes, Dec. 10). There is really no need for him to be angered by the Gordon family's \$1.6-million acquisition of Voice of Five by Bantec. However, it is difficult for the commun-

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Pointers For Parents

By Dr. Robert O. Moore, Vice President of Education, Sylvan Learning Centers

An essential ingredient to achieve success in school this year—and throughout a lifetime of continual learning—is reading, the fundamental skill in financing how well the student performs in all subject areas.

Here are tips parents can use this school year to improve their child's reading comprehension:

For Preschoolers:

- Talk about the pictures in the book; use a variety of words to elaborate on the visual scenes.
- Write the names of things in the car with your child, point out objects, animals and people you see. Relate them to what the child has read with you in books.

For School-age Children:

- Continue to read to your child. Perhaps twice a week, or together.

For help in establishing good reading and study habits for your child, contact the Sylvan Learning Center nearest you.



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LETTERS

ed to understand the international art market, but one thing is certain: Newman's works are a good investment. Baker should be bursting with admiration at the return on the investment.

Michael Johnson,
St. Remy Qua.

OTTAWA, AMERICAN STYLE

George Ben is quite right in suggesting that Canadians should think about how we are going to get a new style of government ("Looking south for a little inspiration," *Maclean's*, Nov. 20). But his solution to this problem is unsatisfactory. Like so many others, Ben looks to the United States to solve our problems. We have the expertise right here to develop a uniquely Canadian solution to our constitutional and governmental dilemmas. It is not necessary to look elsewhere if we have the knowledge and authority to do it ourselves.

Anne Marie Watson,
St. Remy Qua.

INDEPENDENCE IN UKRAINE

Barrie, Manitoba, is far a pretty good measure of the present situation in Ukraine ("The Ukrainian drama," *World*, Dec. 3). Sponsored by Bush and dozens of other democratic parties, the idea of an independent Ukraine, unthinkable a few years back, led to the declaration of sovereignty and the rebirth of a nation. All that without access to the media and with constant provocation from hard-line Communists and the like.

Maryanne J. Wylewolsky,
Espanola, Ont.

QUEBEC AND THE SETTING SUN

I find Diane Paquin's amiable effort in "It is time for English Canada to speak up" (Globe and Mail, Dec. 10) ridiculous and shameful. She dismisses all the past of conflict between really charged I am not writing with efforts to defend French culture. It is about time that Anglo-Canadian realize that the sun has already set on the British Empire and focused its efforts to the building of this great country.

John S. Michalak,
Montreal

(Diane Paquin's column drew together and expressed my core thoughts of the past year on the future of Canada. I resolved that I had to stand up to be counted as one very proud Canadian. I find it offensive as the extreme to have our nation lead hurray to the expugn and self-serving ideology of Jacques Parizeau.

Stephen J. Tolosa,
Kitchener, Ont.

Maclean's

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1-800-387-35439, 1-800-387-35440, 1-800-387-35441, 1-800-387-35442,

OPENING NOTES

Ronald McDonald goes to war, Laurier LaPierre signs on with Spicer, and Thomas Bata sets the record straight

HARD TIMES MAGAZINE

It's been terrible times for the Canadian magazine industry. But a Winnipeg couple say that they see a silver lining. Undaunted by declining advertising revenues and the impact of the丝, Jen and Ken Kristiansen have decided to launch a monthly magazine called *Revolutions*. The two graphic artists, who have a total of 45 years of magazine experience between them, say that the first issue will be on *Whaling* next month on March 1. They describe it as an upbeat antidote to the effects of the economic recession. For a one-monthly subscription cost of 25 cents, readers will get articles on entertainment on a limited budget, how to make beer or home, how to barter and tips on job searching. The first issue, printed on newsprint, may include a coupon for a five-cent cup of coffee and a package of vegetable seeds. "We don't expect to make millions with this," Jen Kristiansen told Maclean's. "We just think it's a good idea." The Kristiansens have pledged to devote the cover price and 25 per cent of ad revenues to food banks and the homeless. Even their advertising sales strategy reflects current economic realities. Jen wants to attract as advertisers such retail chains as Bergin's Hardware and R.W. May. Key says that she thinks the magazine will continue even when the recession ends. "We would have to change the name, of course," she said. "But there are a lot of people out there who live this way off the tree." *Revolution* loves company.



The Kristiansens undaunted

If the shoe fits, it may be bogus

All is not in love and war, but the rules have yet to be written for Russian electronics coming themselves into a free-market system. Shoe magnate Thomas Bata's celebrated trip to his Czechoslovakian hometown in December 1988, produced with an outpouring of affection that a state-run shoe factory in Bata decided to cash in on his name. Managers at the factory, which the state nationalized in 1948 after the Communists takeover, resurrected the Bata trademark, which had not been in use for 40 years. Still Soaps Sheldy is a Toronto writer who wrote the book on Bata's recently renamed autobiography, *Bata: Shoemaker to the World*. "They were capitalizing on his popularity and the reputation of quality shoes at reasonable prices," he said. "It had to play on advertisements in eight major Czechoslovakian newspapers in Decem-



Bata: affection led to a resurrection?

ber warning people that the Bata corporation was not responsible for the shoes. Said Sheldy: "People assumed Bata was back and that those were Bata shoes." It would have been a marketing ploy at best as it all sort show.

GREEN STUFF FOR GOLFERS

Northern Telecom's Northville, Itron, subsidiary, sponsor of this month's pro tour golf tournament in Tucson, Ariz., placed special calls for the 1991 event. The Toronto-based telephone equipment firm invited top customers to play in a pre-tournament event on Jan. 9 with select pros. Northern Telecom will ante up \$1.2 million for tournaments prize money. Advertising director Michael Ryan says a total is the right number. The tour network will reinforce the event and, said Ryan, "There is a tremendous amount of visibility." Telegenic marketing?

A CITY BEARS ITS CROSS

In October, when a Cincinnati guy rated that the collection of banalized photographs Robert Mapplethorpe's work was not obscene, it was at seven months of banishment. But city officials recently found themselves at the centre of another controversy. Last fall, a local radio station offered to purchase a ceremonial mace made from the Christmas tree in the city's central square, but city hall declined the request. Then, when a local radio station, the radio station, the KX Klan Klan demanded that it be allowed to burn a cross in the square. In an attempt to prevent a repeat incident, the city gave its permission on the condition that members not wear their traditional white hoods and that the cross remain unlit. The Klansmen then threatened to go to court to prevent local Santa Claus wearing hoods. Finally, on Dec. 22, when about 12 uninvited Klansmen held a rally in Cincinnati's Fountain Square, more than 1,500 people showed up to protest and throw stones, pieces of machinery and even a can of sliced pineapple. Police arrested four of them during the riot that followed. So much for peace on earth



Klan rally, no burning cross

Mace: a symbol



QUIET HIRING

Preme Minister Brian Mulroney says that post-budget pessimism in Canada prompted him to invite the各省' Finance Ministers to Ottawa last November. Under chairman Keith Speer, the forum's mandate is to ask a diversity of questions: what kind of country they want,

to an attempt to stimulate that process, Speer has now recruited experienced telethon host and historian Lorraine LaPierre to help with the town-hall-style meetings all part of Cdn. TV's 1990s endeavour. *This Hour Has Seven Days* was particularly interested about explaining his new duties. In fact, he told Mulroney that he would not discuss his new job and he "checked it off as all right." Later, he called back and declared, "This is a policy that only the commissioners approve the word." Another forum spokesman did say that LaPierre will help train moderators and that he will moderate some of the panel's plenary meetings himself. But LaPierre, who recently published 1979's *The Battle for Canada*, continued to be cagey—with one pronounced pitch: "If you want to find out what Lorraine LaPierre is doing," he said, "then come my book!" Perhaps he should be considering *Let's Make a Deal*.



LaPierre: much the people

OPEN SEASON AT THE ZOO

Television images of Soviet throngs crowding around nearly empty meat counters throughout the country are familiar here in the West this winter. But the desperation of a winter-fearing shroud shortages of food and other goods has been underscored by events in the city of Kiev. Recently, on anti-temperatures—and freezing—individuals and animals a small deer from the city zoo. Two weeks later, another deer disappeared. And now officials say that the population of zebras, goats and ducks is dwindling too. So far, local police have failed to track down the urban butchers. But their bounty should bring a good price on the black market. A kilogram of beef costs about 10 per cent of the average Soviet worker's monthly salary.

FOOD AND LOATHING

Michael's saw the big pile in Red Square, but the world's biggest hamburger chain has not been able to penetrate the arty London neighbourhood of Hampstead. In fact, many high-profile residents successfully pressured a McDonald's from leasing on their main street, becoming only the second protest group in the

world to do so. (The other was the quiet Massachusetts acoustic retreat of Martha's Vineyard, in 1978.) Now, McDonald's spokesman says that the chain is looking at sites in Hampstead again. And, again, residents are up in arms. Said actor Tom Conti: "McDonald's is monstrously ugly. I wouldn't like to see it in my street. We'd be up to our knees in debris." And novelist Margaret Atwood, a 57-year-old resident, said, "My husband of McDonald's is someone 'One man's meat is another man's poison.'



A big Mac's ready to serve

hosting of McDonald's is someone "One man's meat is another man's poison."

The cost of courage

Stevyn Hamilton, And the relatives of Capt. Frederick Thornton Peters, a Canadian-born veteran of both world wars, intend to collect their legacy. Peters, a commander in the Royal Navy who died in 1944, received a Victoria Cross "for value." Now, the family is asking the medal for \$100,000. Of the 90 crosses awarded to Canadians, Peters is the only one given to a native of Prince Edward Island. Said David Webber, executive director of the P.E.I. Heritage Foundation: "We would love to have it, but we just do not have the money." It's a heroics through the fingers of commerce.

A SHAKEN NATION BARES ITS ANGER

Canadians are suffering a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself.

From the start, Canada has rarely been free-atmosphere on its unity and political regeneration. For a decade after joining Confederation in 1871, British Columbians talked frequently of secession. In the late 1880s, Ontario's Oliver Mowat had no ancestral pretensions to the West, but he brought his influence to bear on the government. Both provinces opened further avenues between Quebec and the rest of the country over that province's profound opposition to conscription. And between the wars, the absence of a helping hand from Ottawa during the Depression destroyed many Canadians' faith in their country. Accommodation and patience saw Canada through those and many other challenges. But the seventh annual Maclean's/Decima poll shows that those qualities are being tested again, perhaps in unprecedented degree, and the ten of catchment are more than ever at danger of snapping.

The country is swamped by a recession, the rift between Quebec and English Canada has widened dangerously and, perhaps most ominously, Canadians as a whole are suffering a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself. As a result, according to their cousins starting responses to the poll, Canadians may now be more ready than ever before to accept fundamental changes in the makeup of the country—even to the point of instituting a radically new federal system, with or without Quebec. These mood is grim and political

as it verges on morbid. Based on the poll's findings, University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss said that they were in accord with his own observations. Said Bliss, "I don't think there has ever been such a full sweep of anger, disappointment and alienation as you have seen."

The poll paints an interesting portrait of a nation that has lost its way. English-Canadians have only grudging tolerance for contentious negotiations over the status of Quebec (page 10). As they lose respect for their politicians, people are desirous of more personal influence over critical decisions—with a significant 27 per cent feeling with the idea of dismantling government altogether (page 12). As well, large numbers of respondents, alienated by the use of their tax bills, want to restrict government's ability to spend (page 10). They are less optimistic than ever before in the history of the Maclean's/Decima poll about their own and the country's economic prospects (page 20). And on a personal level, many of them say that they feel isolated in their communities—or even in their houses (page 30). Said veterans' politician Allan Gregg, president of the Ottawa-based Veterans Research Centre: "Clearly, the survey reveals that we have been disengaged from our society, we have never done what Maclean's asked."

For all that, there are some positive signs. The respondent strategy towards non-contentious negotiations declines sharply if the process is altered to include extensive consultation and public involvement—in the federal government's Citizens Forum, headed by Keith Spicer, has been designed to do just that. And even a recession has not destroyed Canadian confidence in their economic future—the lowest level of respondents expressing optimism in seven years of polling is still at least 72 per cent. At the same time, although they want to change their political institutions, Canadians do not want to temper with the institutions closest to home—despite overwhelming numbers who say that a good relationship with their spouse is still one that involves love, sex and fidelity (page 40). But having faith in the fairness of our institutions is clearly in decline category 47 per cent—a respondents acknowledge having at least one sense of unfairness from a list of eight (page 43).

Still, the pervasive anger is not of disacquaintance; Mr. Gregg says that in case have three main effects. One is a desire among some voters to turn to a demagogue to nominate change. Another, said Gregg, is an tendency to look inward. "Paved with the view



Scenes of chaos in the Senate contributed to serious concerns about how the country is governed

national institutions don't serve the national interest, and public institutions don't serve the public good, people say. 'To hell with them, I'll pursue my own, individual good,'" said Gregg. He sees that attitude behind the strong support that emerged in the poll for forcing politicians to pay more attention to the interests of constituents.

But the best outcome, said Gregg, would be a change of system. Even if the changes place more restrictions on policies and make them less acceptable to the voters, he said, they might still have appeal. He added: "No institution has got any vested interest in either disengagement or apathy, and so their best interest is to try to get ahead of this trend by introducing change."

Some contemporary historians say that major changes are long overdue. George Woodcock, for one, says that the four-to-five-year Parliament, while acceptable for the slower pace of the Victorian era, no longer serves Canada without an effective voice for far too long. "Some mechanism should exist whereby the people could recall their political masters or call them to order in a shorter time," said Woodcock, the Vancouver-based writer of *The Century That Made Us* and other books on Canadian history. "We've got here to see a system that is very rigid and is virtually a four- or five-year dictatorship," he said.

Both Woodcock (who has no political affiliation) and Blue (who calls himself "the last Joe Clark-type—even Joe Clark isn't one anymore") also support the views of most respondents, who favour a reduction in party discipline, freeing MPs from the party line to vote more in accordance with constituents' wishes. If that means that Canada would pass different kinds of legislation, says Blue, "well, tough. We would have what the people actually want." The kind of concern that Jack Marshall

could have capital punishment," reveals a kind of utilist alienation that is bogging up our country. It is profoundly indifferentistic."

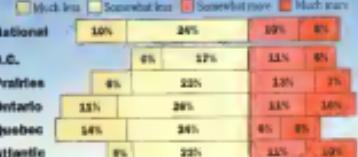
The events of an unusually startling year clearly contributed to a widely held belief that government is not doing its job. After the bitter recriminations surrounding the collapse of the March Lake negotiations in June, the summer-long armed stand-off across the boundaries at Oka, Quebec, and the autumn's series of anger and confusion in the Senate, Canadians found themselves officially at a crossroads. And when the Decima pollsters spoke to 1,500 of them from coast-to-coast throughout the first week of November, the respondents revealed one unshifting indicator of their growing dissatisfaction: a diminished pride in their country (sections 10 and 11 in the poll test, page 30). Although 58 per cent of respondents said that they felt more proud to be a Canadian than they did a few years ago, their numbers were overwhelmed by half a third of poll participants who said that they had less pride. Respondents from Quebec and Ontario—topped those from other regions in feeling less proud, but Quebecers stood out in their unwillingness to call themselves more proud citizens, apparently. When asked who was responsible for changing their attitude, fully 75 per cent cited the federal government.

The last comparable loss of pride may have taken place during the Depression. "What you had then and what you've got now is a feeling that nothing was working, that the system was screwed up, and that the policies were no good," said author Pierre Berton, whose latest book, *The Great Depression*, is on the best-seller lists. But at least Canadians were not worrying much then about the survival of their nation, he added. "They just assumed it was one, united country." Now, a nation that has grown up on tea to settle has one of its toughest yet—and its people are clearly in no mood for policies without answers.

CANADIANS' DIMINISHING PRIDE

Quebecers, particularly, are losing their feeling for Canada

(b) Do you feel more or less proud to be a Canadian than you did a few years ago?



SEEKING ATTENTION

'Governments cannot govern with this lack of support'

Like his father, Patrick Newland grew up believing in the righteousness of the Progressive Conservative party and the effectiveness of Canada's House of Commons. Following in the footsteps of his father, George, who was a Tory MP for 26 years, Newland was elected to the Commons from his Nova Scotia home riding of Annapolis Valley/Bridgewater in 1980, at 23. Since then, he has increasingly held the riding through seven federal elections.

But in November, Newland cast what he describes as "one of the toughest decisions of my life." He resigned from the Tory caucus to sit as an independent MP, citing his opposition to the government's failed Meech Lake constitutional package and several other areas of disagreement. And he told Maclean's that he is no longer certain whether Canadians of any political persuasion are properly served by Parliament. He said that the country desperately needs to make its politicians more directly accountable to the people who elect them. Declared Newland: "Politicians can lead the force for change—or be swallowed by it."

Newland is one of a handful of political outliers in the Commons—members who have resigned from or been ousted by their party. Another is Edmonton's David Kilgour, expelled from the Tory party by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney last April after repeatedly criticizing government policies. Says Kilgour:

"I would have been failing my constituents if I did not reflect their anger at some of the things the government has done." But while these status quo rebels have many of their former colleagues, their actions are incompatible with the expectations of an overwhelmingly disaffected Canadian electorate. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents to the seventh annual Maclean's/McCann Poll said that politicians should make decisions based on their individual



Mulroney's advisers say that they are responding to the darkening mood

concerns or on behalf of their constituents, rather than simply supporting their party's position. Said University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss: "Most MPs ought to be like David Kilgour or Pat Newland. More may start doing this, if only to save their skin."

But the antipathy of many Canadians towards the political process clearly goes far beyond unhappiness with parliamentary voting traditions (questions 7, 8, 36, 37, 38, and 32 to 35 in the poll text, page 15). Fifty-five per cent of poll respondents said that they should be allowed to recall their MP with a petition at any time. Said respondent Rita Kaljague:

people have to learn they just cannot keep ignoring us in the way they do now." Kaljague, 30, is a travelled consultant and a married mother of a three-year-old son who lives in the Northern Ontario town of North Bay. She told Maclean's in a follow-up interview, "Right now, I feel like no one gives a damn about ordinary people like me."

Other striking signs of discontent: Only 13 per cent of respondents said that they favored the maintenance of the existing system of government. Another 40 per cent said that they wanted a greater number of "true" votes. Under the present system, there is no mechanism to allow governments to face backbenchers from the party left if major legislation is defeated in the Commons, the ruling party is expected to resign. The only exception is when all parties agree in advance to allow

individual members to vote according to their conscience. But one source said that the Tories would like to have the Commons at less frequency, which would allow MPs to spend more time in their ridings meeting with constituents. One option could be to have the Commons sit only three days a week, instead of the present five. At the same time, another Tories are split on the issue of holding snap elections.

In fact, the government appears to be responding in some of those concerns. It's negotiating a new round of constitutional negotiations

different policies, the Tories, Liberals and the NDP would "all govern pretty much the same."

For most respondents, the current manner of governing is unsatisfactory. Sixty-one per cent said that government is less effective than it was five to 10 years ago, and 63 per cent said that they now perceive less honesty than they did then. That result, says analysts say, arises from a widespread feeling that present governments lack the will and the resources to help average citizens. "Everywhere you look, you see governments that are cutting services but increasing taxes," said Thomas Courchene, an economist and the director of the school of policy studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "There is a sense that governments cost a lot of money, and only serve themselves."

Indeed, in interviews with Maclean's, respondents and analysts cited both money-mongering and decision-making by the Tories as factors in the decline of faith in government. Among other graft-related issues, the Goods and Services Tax, the 1989 conflict in Via Rail services and, more recently, station closures and layoffs at the CBC—a decision that was announced after the poll was conducted in November but was in the headlines at the time of the following interview. Said Courchene: "The Liberals never gave a damn about the size of the deficit when they were in power, and that left the Conservatives in a terrible position. But the timing of some of their moves could not have been worse. They close up the city during a national anti-crime rally and bring in the GST at the middle of a recession."

At the same time, Canadians' reluctance to rely on politicians may reflect a developing trend: in many countries towards greater individualism. Child said that polls conducted in the United States also show growing frustration with government and a desire to find independence from problems. Said Ed "T" Blair: "It is related to people becoming more educated, wealthier and more determined to take control of their lives, and that means that they are very apathetic to the country state." Partly as a result, just a third of respondents said that they would turn to an elected politician for help in solving a problem affecting people in their community. The other two-thirds would prefer to rely on a group of neighbors (25 per cent), themselves (20 per cent), a volunteer organization (15 per cent) or a local business leader (seven per cent).

Arguably, those responses sometimes differed markedly. Residents of Quebec are much more likely than other Canadians to depend on either business leaders (12 per cent) or themselves (23 per cent), while in the Prairie provinces there is a higher tendency to depend on neighbors (20 per cent). Those responses on politics are not unique to Quebec. There are real differences among the three traditional parties. Sixty-one per cent said that their profession of having significantly

THE DEMAND FOR CHANGE

Limitations on government's power appeal to Canadians

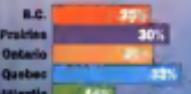
Want government to consult public before making major decisions



Want to be able to recall politicians by petition between elections



Want to look after own interests more often without any government



functions include the Ottawa Forum on Canada's Future, which is advising the opinions of Canadians across the country. As well, Mulroney raised the possibility last month of a referendum on the national unity issue and has called for shifting more powers to the provinces.

Senior government sources said that Mulroney's plan is that they are discussing further measures to respond to that darkening public mood. For one thing, they are looking at ways to change existing traditions in the Commons to allow a greater number of "true" votes. Under the present system, there is no mechanism to allow governments to face backbenchers from the party left if major legislation is defeated in the Commons, the ruling party is expected to resign. The only exception is when all parties agree in advance to allow

pliances on major issues. Although there is widespread support among voters for the idea, senior Conservatives argue that such a plan would carry enormous potential for division between different regions and language and ethnic groups.

Still, the government clearly faces an uphill battle in winning back the confidence of the voters. Former Mulroney adviser Michael Gibil, partner in the Montreal-based consulting firm Scar Inc., says that Canadians are "increasingly turning backs to politics." He added, "The levels of rage substantiation have never been higher." Those emotions are reflected in the belief of many respondents that there are real differences among the three traditional parties. Sixty-one per cent said that their profession of having significantly

different policies, the Tories, Liberals and the NDP would "all govern pretty much the same." For most respondents, the current manner of governing is unsatisfactory. Sixty-one per cent said that government is less effective than it was five to 10 years ago, and 63 per cent said that they now perceive less honesty than they did then. That result, says analysts say, arises from a widespread feeling that present governments lack the will and the resources to help average citizens. "Everywhere you look, you see governments that are cutting services but increasing taxes," said Thomas Courchene, an economist and the director of the school of policy studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "There is a sense that governments cost a lot of money, and only serve themselves."

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POLITICS OF ANGER

while 15 per cent said that their opinion is more favorable (compared with 12 per cent negatively).

Still, the poll showed a strong sense in all parts of the country that politicians neither know nor care about the concerns of average Canadians. About half of the respondents agreed with the statement, "No federal government elected is ever going to understand and respond to the needs of my region." That figure was highest in Quebec (58 per cent), but otherwise remained fairly consistent across the country. Analysts said that reaction, coupled with the 55 per cent of Canadians who want to be able to recall politicians between elections, illustrates a profound degree of popular disillusionment.

Support for recall by partition in linguistic as the French provinces (50 per cent), while it peaked in Alberta (67 per cent). To David Beaton, a history professor at the University of Calgary, those numbers suggest a feeling of art being represented. "There was a time when we believed that creating the West was strictly a phenomenon of Liberal government in Ontario," he said. "Now, Mulroney has shown it is something they all do."

Those numbers are likely to be welcomed by the Alberta-based Reform Party of Canada and its leader, Preston Manning. Most of the poll respondents who participated in follow-up interviews told Manning that they see highly impressed by Manning, who supports political consultation and relevance as elements of government decentralization. The same year and that none of the leaders of the three current conservative parties meet their needs. One respondent, 54-year-old toolmaker Michael Losk of Wainwright, said that he used to support the federal Tories. But, he added, "Mulroney was full of hot air and nothing else [Leader] [John] Chrétien has turned out to be just another two-faced politician and I am not impressed by that woman [Patsy] Lassiter

Audrey McLaughlin]. But that Marcy is now, he notes, is east about people."

In fact, every analysis set that the growth in support for regional parties like Reform and

will not go away." Seventy per cent of poll respondents and that now is not the time to begin new constitutional negotiations (page 16). But Gauthier, who has been invited to appear as an expert witness before the Bélanger-Clichevre commission on Quebec's future, and that changes will have to be made soon to the Constitution. He added, "If Canadians want things to get better soon, the process has to start now."

There are some indications that most Canadians are strongly about the future unity of the country. Asked if it was more important to have a leader who would look after national interests or one who would "look after your region's interests even if it is not necessarily good for the rest of Canada," 74 per cent of respondents chose a leader with national interests (box, below). That figure was lowest in Quebec (65 per cent) and highest in Ontario (84 per cent). Said Gauthier of the Ontario results: "Historically, Ontario people think that whatever is good for them is good for the country, and vice versa."

The apparent ground swell of opinion favoring a stronger federal role in determining the production strategies of local firms. One Quebec Tory Mr. Gauthier, President of Linxex, says that he accepts the need for change, having himself worked on constitutional reforms in his constituency in November. Furthermore, and that the response he receives to the media will guide him on what strategy to take on Quebec's constitutional future within or outside of Chantal Hébert's. "That's something my people must decide." On the other hand, eight residents of the rural Alberta riding of Wetaskiwin took that Tory sit, Wilson Letendre, to court for not opposing the bill. They sat accused of failing to "fulfill its duty to adequately represent the majority's views" by not opposing the bill. Early last month, Justice A. E. Marshall of the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench ruled that



Manning could be benefiting from the mood of alienation

the separatist Bloc Québécois. In by former liberal cabinet minister Louise Boileau, is not a temporary aberration. Said Boileau from Queen's University: "People are sick of death of the established system. They are disgusted

with an experienced politician to a novice. Said political Afia Gergu, "Clearly, you could say the people are disillusioned. There is no consensus at all in terms of what kind of leader they are looking for."

The lack of agreement extends to both the style and the substance of political leaders. Notably, 40 per cent of respondents say that they want someone who "respects Quebec's interests," while 48 per cent prefer a leader who will "put Quebec in its place." In fact, a significant minority of francophones (37 per cent) said that they were looking for a leader who would be tough with the province. In the rest of Canada, 54 per cent favored the stronger approach to the province, while 43 per cent wanted a more sensitive attitude.

When respondents were asked how a leader should deal with English Canada's interests, 63 per cent favored a "sensitive" approach, while 33 per cent said that English Canada should be "put in its place." In that case, a significant majority (68 per cent) said that they would prefer an experienced politician to a novice. Said political Afia Gergu, "Clearly, you could say the people are disillusioned. There is no consensus at all in terms of what kind of leader they are looking for."

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Lefebvre's issue, stating that we are not legally accountable to our constituents.

At the policy-making level, a spate of new constitutional panels suggests that governments are beginning to take steps to move public consultation seriously. The federal government's Citizens' Forum, as well as former journalist Keith Spicer, a seeking the views of people across Canada on the country's future. That is in stark contrast to the failed Meech Lake process, in which Macdonald and the 10 premiers determined the proposed course of constitutional change in closed meetings. As well as Quebec's Bélanger-Clichevre commission, several other provinces have created or made plans for provincial consultations to gain some买通选民的民意. In the case of constitutional reform, said Walter Re-Denot, a University of Manitoba political scientist who is chairman of that province's commission: "We are still doing now what should have been done during the Meech Lake process."

Still, as governments struggle to change their ways, many of them find that the process of adapting to their new mandates can't be completed without some backtracking. The federal government's apparently hasty handing over of power in a controversial bill in an emergency session in November. Posture and that the response he receives to the media will guide him on what strategy to take on Quebec's constitutional future within or outside of Chantal Hébert's. "That's something my people must decide." On the other hand, eight residents of the rural Alberta riding of Wetaskiwin took that Tory sit, Wilson Letendre, to court for not opposing the bill. They sat accused of failing to "fulfill its duty to adequately represent the majority's views" by not opposing the bill. Early last month, Justice A. E. Marshall of the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench ruled that

he had been passing around as the two pressers had not paid, but now it has fallen back precipitously, identified by just one per cent of respondents as their top concern in 1990.

The latest poll also shows that Canadians have shifted their primary focus away from the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. That was the top concern (42 per cent) in 1983 when it was a major focus of that fall's general election. It fell to just seven per cent in 1989 and has now virtually disappeared as an issue, cited by only two per cent. This pattern also seemed to reveal relatively little concern about two other issues that emerged as major issues elsewhere in the poll: the leadership provided by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government (seven per cent) or social and moral issues, including crime and drugs (just four per cent). "The responses to that top-item question are really a fairly accurate

reflection of what's going on in the newspaper," said Dennis president Alton Grigg, but more positive answers are given after deeply felt concerns about issues that are not currently in the headlines. Grigg added: "This was really apparent in the early 1980s, when no one would mention the environment as the most important problem, but if you ask directly, 'What about the environment?' they'd say, 'It's the most important by far.'"

Still, the large number pointing to economic issues in the same manner reflect an appreciated level of pessimism about personal and national economic prospects found elsewhere in the poll (page 20). Generally, the responses reflect frequent complaints from westerners that Ottawa does not represent their interests. Respondents in the Prairies registered the highest concern about the GST and taxes generally (29 per cent) and the federal and government spending (34 per cent). On the other hand, the most common category of concern, at 20 per cent, was recession and interest rates, followed closely by inflation (14 per cent) and fiscal imbalance (14 per cent).

The lower levels citing environmental concerns are particularly noteworthy in light of answers to the Marquis/Décarie poll a year ago, when only 25 per cent of those surveyed predicted that would be the number 1 issue of the 1990s—and when no other single issue scored in the double-digit range.

The environment may still be a "bedrock concern" to most Canadians, as John Lahrke, executive director of the Ottawa-based environmental group Friends of the Earth, notes. But the new results do raise doubts about Canadians' willingness to commit resources to cleaning up the environment at a time when the economy is contracting.

GREG W. TAYLOR

LEADERS FOR ALL SEASONS

While an overwhelming majority of Canadians express frustration and impatience with the quality of their political representatives, there is no clear agreement on the kind of leadership that they actually want. (Question 35.) Respondents to the Marquis/Décarie poll were divided over whether it is more important for the leader to be compassionate (59 per cent) or tough (41 per cent), to espouse modern values (57 per cent) or traditional ones (50 per cent), to be a mediator, trying to reconcile different opinions (48 per cent), or an idealist promoting a clear vision (51 per cent). And while a substantial majority (83 per cent) said that they now feel less of a connection than they did five years ago, a similar majority (88 per cent) said that they would

prefer an experienced politician to a novice. Said political Afia Gergu, "Clearly, you could say the people are disillusioned. There is no consensus at all in terms of what kind of leader they are looking for."

The lack of agreement extends to both the style and the substance of political leaders. Notably, 40 per cent of respondents say that they want someone who "respects Quebec's interests," while 48 per cent prefer a leader who will "put Quebec in its place." In fact, a significant minority of francophones (37 per cent) said that they were looking for a leader who would be tough with the province. In the rest of Canada, 54 per cent favored the stronger approach to the province, while 43 per cent wanted a more sensitive attitude.

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A TAXING TEST OF PATIENCE

With the country officially in a recession, bankruptcies soaring and the national Budget and Services Tax under scrutiny, economic worries overwhelmed all other concerns during the past year (question 1 in the poll, page 23). Indeed, 29 per cent of those interviewed in the Marquis/Décarie poll cited taxes, interest rates, despairing jobs or other clearly economic matters when asked, "What is the most important issue facing Canada today?" (The breakdown: the list of issues in general, 23 per cent; the economy, recession, inflation or interest rates, 21 per cent; unemployment, wage per cent deficit or government spending, six per cent.) This was a significant increase from 1989, when 25 per cent cited various economic-related issues. Then, the most important concern was the cost of living, cited by 18 per cent of respondents. That issue had been passing around as the two pressers had not paid, but now it has fallen back precipitously, identified by just one per cent of respondents as their top concern in 1990.

The latest poll also shows that Canadians have shifted their primary focus away from the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. That was the top concern (42 per cent) in 1983 when it was a major focus of that fall's general election. It fell to just seven per cent in 1989 and has now virtually disappeared as an issue, cited by only two per cent. This pattern also seemed to reveal relatively little concern about the GST and taxes generally (29 per cent) and the federal and government spending (34 per cent). On the other hand, the most common category of concern, at 20 per cent, was recession and interest rates, followed closely by inflation (14 per cent) and fiscal imbalance (14 per cent).

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Five years in which you keep on everything you have done and say you'll do it again. We want constant accountability."

Winnipeg's Link was one of the many groups that rejected the current system. Said Link: "I have had it with politicians who promised they care about what they talk only at election time, and at between, because like we are in a dictatorship." The message from the Marquis/Décarie poll seems clear: it is time for politicians to talk less, open up the process and listen more.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

THE ANGER GROWS

Irate taxpayers threaten to resort to violence

Driven by constitutional disputes, income disparities and other differences, Canadians approach prosperity on an issue-by-issue basis and some of the more anti-tax people say that they are simply not going to take a position. And the public doesn't care over what the federal government's preparations for the Goods and Services Tax (GST), the Macdonald-Greenbacker Tax or the proposed consumption tax will end up costing them. In fact, 34 per cent of respondents to a recent poll said they were up to some degree about the amount of tax they pay. And a striking two-thirds of that group said they were either very or somewhat prepared to express their views through signing petitions to demonstrate against or signing petitions to demonstrate for or, for a few, even resorting to resistance. According to Decima Research Ltd., president Phil Green, the findings are part of a picture that emerges from the poll, indicating an overwhelming majority of Canadians believe the GST is a bad idea to go forward. Adds Green: "There is a belief that governments are inherently wasteful, if not dishonest."

The last year has clearly demonstrated Canadians' attention to taxes and how they are spent. Auto-Off's signature tax petition has 4,430 signers across Canada, urging them to resist the tax. Chanting, plateau-waving CRT opponents greeted Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at numerous stops where he travelled east and west for a series of public appearances in November. In that atmosphere, the car and taxes in general emerged as the main topic of all issues for Canadians—23 per cent in this year's poll [page 13]. What was in the same range in the recession and the economy in general—and far ahead of the next level of concerns, including the environment, national unity and the quality of government leadership.

Asked whether the respondents planned to apply some restraint in government's lending to spend its revenues while 43 per cent said that they were prepared to leave spending decisions to the government, 52 per cent said that they would rather have a chance to make those choices themselves as their forms. And it seems to another question, a polling 77 per cent said that governments should be allowed to borrow to meet deficits in times of stress. As a result, according to Gingras, Canadian might approach legislation similar to the Gramm-Rudman Act that the US Congress passed in 1985 to force legislators to balance the budget. One of its steps in 1986 was to freeze tax increases in 1990 that they did in 1984.

The Fraser Institute also predicts that, with the tax cut in effect, the so-called tax freedom day—when the total savings of the average family are enough to pay off all of its taxes for the year—will come in 1990, four days earlier than it has been since 1984. But respondents' incomes in north-eastern Ontario, a gold mine from Timmins to north-eastern Quebec, for one, suggest he would happily pay any extra penalty for tax cuts. In an interview with Maclean's after

taking part in the poll, he added, "You havn't to work for half a year just to pay your taxes and you're not getting anything for it."

Still, Gregg noted that Decima's polling consistently illustrates Ottawa's fiscal dilemma: Canadians claim that they want governments to cut spending sharply, but they also want it to spend more money on some expenses.



Demonstrations against the GST took many forms.

group that has charted the growth of Canadian tax burdens. According to its organization's calculations, 49.6 per cent of the average Canadian's income was spent on taxes of all types in 2000. And according to Patrick Gruber, an economist with the Ottawa forecasting bureau Global Economics, Canadian households paid an average of \$1,600 more in federal taxes in 1990 than they did in 1984.

size programs, such as health, education and social programs. According to University of Toronto economist Jito Gospodinov, who was conducting research for the government around the same time, the new policy change came to pass with voter confidence. Finance Minister Michael Wilson "realized the rest [act] when he reflected the several fiscal problems facing the country at a national economic conference in 1985, and Gruber, that the Tories quickly lost their credibility, he said, and when they decided to drop the act, then reversed the policy in response to a huge protest by senior citizens. Since then, the act has been used to coax voters into voting Conservative because it's there that it's a clear message of economic security." Now, the state appears set to be cut for a much-needed level of tax relief.

第20课时



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Reduced energy. Filled juice boxes are compact and fit together like building blocks with no wasted space, saving energy when storing and shipping them.

Reduced air pollution. Empty juice boxes are light weight and are shipped in compact rolls to food manufacturers for recycling. A million empty one-liter packages can be carried in 2 semi-trailers, compared to 100 semi-trailers for glass bottles.

Recycling. Juice boxes are starting to be recycled. Over 500 Canadian schools already have juice box recycling bins. And some municipalities are leading the way by accepting juice boxes in their regular Blue Box programs.

reduce waste, reduce energy use, and conserve resources. They're one of the most healthy and nutritious ways to package liquid food. For these reasons, in 1989, the Institute of Food Technologists named them the most important food science invention in 50 years.

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family, and for
your future.

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In Quebec and elsewhere, the clock is ticking towards a profound reordering of the country

A NATION ON THE BRINK

The public is not eager to start rebuilding

On Cape Breton Island, Sydney MLA and former cabinet minister Shirley Blaney, 38, has a time capsule for fixing the country's constitutional crisis. "I would like to see Quebec separate once and for all," he said Marloes 1 in southern Ontario, which she helped constituents elect Green North. 44 says that

These responses to the annual Marfan's Q-Disease poll confirmed in follow-up interviews that, although Quebec's departure from Canada has complicated a political program only in that province, it is a possibility that Canadians across the land are considering with a new receptivity.

One of those is Joachim Laroche, 44, who studies economics at a community college in Ste-Foy, Que. It is he that proposes that demands for the country's constitutional experts and political leaders to resolve the constitutional impasse once and for all are soundest and most modest. "This problem has been dragging on for too long already,"

and Lacasse "We have to settle it."

Still, the poll shows clearly that despite the necessity of revising the country's Constitution, few Canadians anywhere, even in Quebec, are enthusiastic about undertaking the task. Question 12 to 19 in the poll text, page 381. In every region of the country, a clear majority of respondents (from 63 per cent in Quebec to 77 per cent in Ontario) said that they would prefer to defer any new re-examination of the federal charter. Most of those and that economic problems were a more pressing concern. But by the time of the debate they will be out of the unemployed majority's hands. The nation's political calendar for 1995 is already stacked up.

ments that will constrain Chavismo with stark and possibly painful questions about the future of their country.

In Quebec, as elsewhere, the committee will serve as a proposal for a new arrangement between Quebec and the rest of Canada once it is ratified in March. Whether or not it progresses, it will almost certainly encourage such a much reduced role for the federal government. Quebec's answer to the constitutional question, if any, will be to seek a referendum. The Quebec government may also hold a referendum on independence.

Meanwhile, the federally appointed Canadian Forum on Canada's Future must decide its cross-country meetings with the public into recommendations to Parliament. At about the same time, a 13-member special committee of the Senate and Commons is expected to lay down its proposals for a method of amending the

And despite wide public aversion to the subject of constitutionalism, the poll also revealed a broad-based willingness to consider some rather unorthodox interpretations of the national constitution among the findings.

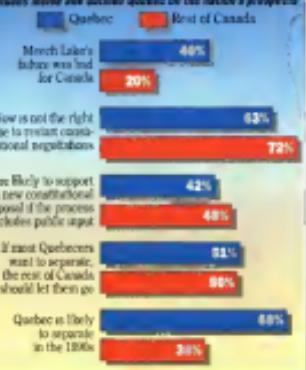
- When asked to choose among six various constitutional options, only 21 per cent of Canadians selected the status quo
 - In the same question, Quebec respondents' most popular choice (27 per cent) was political independence within a Canadian confederation market somewhat like the European Community. The top-choice among other Canadians (42 per cent) was a restructured federal system that gave all 13 provinces much more power
 - Seventy-eight per cent of respondents in Quebec said that they would support any new constitution that gave their province special powers
 - 74 per cent of other Canadians polled reacted similarly to Quebec.

- The willingness of Canadians outside Quebec to resume negotiations increased dramatically if their province, too, would get any special powers granted to Quebec
- If a majority of Quebecers do ultimately express a wish to secede, roughly one-half of those polled in both Quebec and elsewhere said that the rest of Canada "should just let them go."

Canadians' apparent distaste for re-entertaining the constitutional battlefield may be granted in painful recollection of the acrimony surrounding the June failure of the Meech Lake accord. But, with or without the public's support, the Quebec and federal governments have already set the clock ticking towards a profound reordering of the nation. In Quebec, where

CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Authoritative and notable figures in the author's research



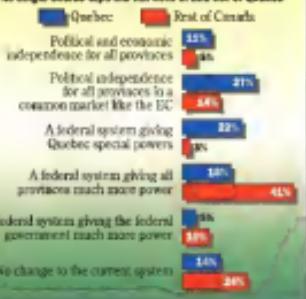
tions presented to the Biltong-Campbell commission have been causing ever-increasingly in favour of independence, pressure is mounting on the Liberal government to call a referendum on the issue as early as the spring. Parallel commissions announced by several other provinces and by the Assembly of First Nations have added fuel to the momentum towards major constitutional reform.

and provincial powers that might permit the provinces to play a greater role of funding social programs—while Ottawa retains greater economic power. At the same time, Mulroney reiterated that he is considering a constitutional referendum as a possible tool for bringing about constitutional change. The Prince George also used the issue to reiterate repeatedly Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien's concern his record of sabotaging the Meech Lake accord and

In Ottawa, meanwhile, advisers to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney are already busing much of their planning for a Conservative

EIGHING THE OPTIONS

private citizen from the Red Army is not yet of Soviet



covery as popularity before the federal election on an appeal to the electorate. According to the survey, widespread dissatisfaction with the lack of progress that led to the recent budget will prompt country's 19 promoters to increase their efforts over a four-month period to encourage voter turnout. While that approach is likely to succeed, Mulroney's only hope is that the outcome of a new referendum will emerge from the *Charter of Canadian Bill of Rights*, which is on leave from his chairmanship of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Whatever the outcome of the referendum for constitutional reform, Tory strategists believe that they hope to isolate the Mulroney government from a successful election campaign in the same way that Mulroney narrowed his victory on free trade in

Indeed, Maloney returned reluctantly to the topic of the Constitution last month in one lengthy interview to the *Commoner*. Maloney discussed a new division of federal vs. provincial powers that might enhance its greater role in programs—which Ottawa can exercise powers. At the same time he reiterated that he is considering it as a possible tool for bringing about constitutional change. The Prince and the issue at large reportedly met Jane Christie, according to the *Merch Lake sound and*

It was over only
aspen may
be somewhat for
level of popular support that is
and below 15 per cent in aspen
ways. Still, the Maclean's Decem-
ber poll uncover some cause for
concern among the Prime Minister's
advisors. One encouraging
sign in the apparent appeared for a
process involving wide public con-
sultation, but that which the
new commission has undertaken.
In fact, the responses indicated
that about half of those polled may
be broadly on the West's com-
mon ground.

for the prospects for constitutional agreement remain unclear at this point, Quebec officials assert that they have the right of veto over any changes to the Constitution. Most Canadians, however, appear prepared to be unwilling to grant Quebec greater powers than other provinces if they do not share equally. Three-quarters of Canadians polled outside Quebec said that they oppose giving that province alone special powers (such as a right, unshared by other provinces, to veto

DISUNITY

constitutional changes). Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, a taciturn critic of the failed Meech Lake accord, shares that opposition. Wells told Macleish that he would like to eliminate the current amending procedure—which effectively gives all provinces a veto over constitutional change. Still, he added, he would use that existing veto to block any new amending formula that would allow Quebec, but not the other provinces, to approve its veto. "Absolutely," declared Wells. "If you create a special status for one province, it is only a matter of time until you destroy the federation."

For his part, Stéphane Dion's Bill is a relative exception to the majority view among



The Meech Lake process created bitterness among leaders, including Mulroney and Wells

respondents in English Canada. "I believe in one rule for all," said the married father of two teenagers. "But I believe, in all fairness, that if Quebec wants to have certain rights, if that's what those people want, we should do it. Let it have them." Despite the widespread opposition, a substantial majority of respondents (58 per cent) said that they would support new powers for Quebec if their own provinces received them, too. That result may point the way to one potential compromise solution—although at a cost of significantly weakening the powers of the central government.

Still, when Canadians were asked to choose which of several possible constitutional reforms they preferred, deep divisions remained between Quebec and the rest of the country. In Quebec, the prospect of losing 10 independent provinces to an "incomplete market form" was not appealing. One man, who chose the most extreme, told *Peter Pan*: "Meech Lake can only go so far on its own. It needs some help to the rest of the country." A clear second choice among

Quebecers (22 per cent) was a federal system in which the provinces had special powers. Another 18 per cent chose a federal system that gave all 10 provinces more power.

That third-place choice, among Quebecers, also attracted the support of more than 40 per cent of Canadians elsewhere, making it the preferred constitutional arrangement in the rest of the country by a large margin. Only about half as many (14 per cent) expressed a preference for the next most popular option—the current system unchanged.

The possibility of reaching a compromise in giving new powers to all provinces is clearly under active consideration. Christians, in one, seemed to endorse that route in an appearance

before Quebec's Beauger-Campbell committee last month. The Liberal leader called for a "responsible" federalism that would redistribute federal and provincial powers and "ensure sovereignty for every government in its respective jurisdiction." For his part, John McCallum, chairman of the economics department at Montreal's McGill University, said that autonomy might provide Canada's only remaining "ray of hope." Added McCallum: "I think there might be a decent chance that Quebec's demands for more power will prove attractive to other provinces, particularly in Western Canada."

Indeed, British Columbia Finance Minister Michelle Courchene has reportedly urged Ottawa to hand over some of its responsibilities with areas such as health, education and labour training. "I don't believe that Quebec is talking about a very different form of what's writing ahead," Courchene said in an interview. And in New Brunswick, Liberal Premier Frank McKenna told *Macleish*: "Quebec's demands for sovereignty really reinforce around a demand

of power." McKenna also predicted that governments at both levels could achieve substantial savings from an end to what he said is an "inefficient waste of resources" when federal and provincial governments share responsibilities.

Stéphane Dion's respondent Heath said that any constitutional settlement that greatly expands the powers of the provinces could totally undermine the federal government. "You get into a situation where you don't have a country," Heath told *Macleish*. "You have 10 provinces and two territories. I think there is a very real risk of that."

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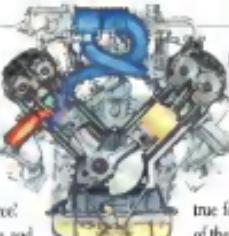
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If Just A Few Of The New Parts That Went Into Lexus Are Impressive Here, Imagine What They're Like On The Road.

In the creation of the Lexus LS400, an astounding number of new patent applications were filed as a result of the work of 1400 top Toyota engineers over a period of seven years.

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For example, to lower engine and transmission noise in the cabin, traditional thinking adds more baffles to the cabin walls. But Lexus engineers traced the noise to its source, the vibration caused by the way in which the engine and drive train relate to one another. Then, by optimizing



the relationship of these key parts, they gave the Lexus automobile a quieter ride than visually any car on the road. The same holds true for practically every aspect of the car's design. To improve peak engine performance, reducing friction is paramount. But rather than accept existing materials, the Lexus team actually came up with

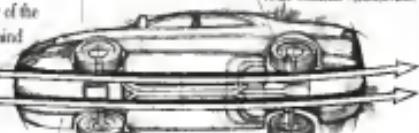


a new process for micro-finishing internal components. To minimize wind turbulence and improve the directional stability of the automobile, the brains behind Lexus came up with yet another patented idea: airfoils on the suspension system.

These are but a few of the astounding examples of a passionate commitment to perfection. To challenge the legendary European high performance luxury cars, the Lexus

simply had to outperform these lofty feats of automotive design and engineering on all levels. Not just a few, all.

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TRUSTED SOURCES

Canadians say they have confidence in journalists

For a newspaper that journalists don't spend more time dealing with what's a very fundamental violation of their journalistic rights.

—Prime Minister Brian Mulroney,
criticizing media coverage of Liberal delay tactics in
the Senate, Oct. 17, 1990

They're a shrewd business paper that simply wants to put the pressure down and get the government out.

—B.C. Premier William Vander Zalm,
giving his opinion of The
Vancouver Sun, Sept. 24, 1990

*surprising, growing measure of
journalists' concern about
oversight by journalists.*

—Businessman Conrad Black,
describing reporters,
June 29, 1989

Clearly, some leading politicians and public figures hold the media in low regard. They frequently claim that journalists and organizations are often biased, unscrupulous, inaccurate or all three in their coverage of government and political life. But according to the Maclean's-Dec. 1 poll, most Canadians do not share that opinion (opinions 30 to 23 in the poll, last page 33). On the contrary, less than a third of the respondents and their Canadian peers, radio and television reporters do not do their work accurately (38 per cent)—or that the media confuse members of the public rather than help people to understand the issues of the day (22 per cent). As well, more than half of the respondents said that journalists are objective in their reporting. The rest were split evenly between the 19 per cent who said that they detected a left-wing slant in the media and the same percentage who perceived a right-wing bias. Prof. Paul Attalidis, a professor of mass communications at Ottawa's Carleton University—"The electorate is saying... 'We like the media, we're happy with the media. We are not totally manipulated by them per se. We're able to distinguish what the media do from what politicians do.' That is to say it is credit of the media—and frankly, I'm surprised."

Indeed, many analysts said that they did not



The electorate is saying, "On the whole we're happy with the media."

expect such a high approval rating for the media. Maclean's editor, Mark Colchester, George Bisa, for one, and that since the 1970s, Canadian reporters have increasingly accepted their own views into stories. He added that most journalists don't bring an ideological bias to their jobs, but he said that reporters are prejudiced against government and the established order because they see themselves as reformers and as "watchdogs of the government." Bisa said that anti-government attitude is evident in the coverage of such major government policies as the Goods and Services Tax, which he said is routinely and unfairly referred to as "the dreaded" tax—or by other negative adjectives. Added Bisa: "It's very difficult nowadays for a politician in government to get across his or her argument for any policy because of the intrusion of the journalist's own interpretations in the reporting. Energetic is a come, and this is just a part of the cynicism and disillusionment we've talked so much about."

The poll results, however, show that most Canadians do not blame the media for any cynicism. Almost two-thirds of the respondents—61 per cent—said that journalists report events as they are, compared with 35 per cent who said that the media's tendency to report only news has contributed to disillusionment. Canadians view the media as rela-



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DIMINISHED EXPECTATIONS

Pessimism reaches a seven-year high in *Maclean's* polling

They set two working Canadians with opposing viewpoints on Canada's economic prospects. Ronald Tuck, a salesman working on commission for a trucking company in southeastern Ontario, says that he is losing faith in his own industry; it is in chaos. Tuck said, because the government designated it at two years ago and Canadian truckers are finding it increasingly difficult to survive against U.S. competition. "To be honest, I have to return about half of that income," he said.

"But I'm 38 and I have three children. How am I going to pay my mortgage?" Across the country in Redcliff, Alta., Bryan Peppi passed for a long interview, where asked why he is optimistic about the future. Then, the 19-year-old apprenticeship welder, who works in nearby Medicine Hat, said: "I just see the way the country is going. There are no big problems that I can see." Peppi acknowledged that the current recession is hurting much of the country, but added, "We have them all the time, and we always come through." Like Peppi, the majority of people surveyed in the seventh annual *Maclean's*/Decan poll remain optimistic about their economic future. But this year, more respondents, including Tuck, expressed pessimism about their own economic future and the country's—than at any time since the year-end poll began in 1984 (questions 2 to 6 and 9 in poll text, page 32).

The changes from previous *Maclean's*/Decan polls have been dramatic. The percentage of people who said that they are dissatisfied with their current economic situation has increased by five points, to 51 per cent, since the 1989 poll. And it has almost doubled from its lowest point, in 1988, when 26 per cent said that they were dissatisfied. The number of respondents who say that they are optimistic about their own economic prospects also increased—to roughly one in four this year. At the same time, the poll revealed a change among Canadians to rely more on themselves, rather than turn-



Despite Wilson's reassurances, many respondents expect a severe recession

and business bankruptcies soared while prices in the real estate market continued to fall. Finance Minister Michael Wilson was asked to assess the direction the economy will take in the 1991-1992 recession, when the prime minister's budget said the gross domestic product would rise 1.8 per cent. During that period, the gross domestic product—the value of goods and services produced in the country—fell by 5.5 percentage points. "Now, all the analysts expect a drop of about one per cent," Wilson said. "It's very different."

Still, economic issues dominated when respondents were asked about their current concern. According to an overwhelming 90 per cent of those surveyed, the recession is not about to disappear in the immediate future. The only debate concerns how bad it will be. While 51 per cent are expecting it to be mild, another 36 per cent say that it will be severe. Said Michael McNeilson, president of the economic forecasting agency Icfametrics in Ottawa: "When times get tough and people get scared, they turn to the pessimistic base cases." And times are tough.

But such an economic pessimistic attitude, shared by more than nine out of ten respondents, was not the norm in 1984. Edward Neufeld, the Royal Bank of Canada's executive vice-president of economics and corporate affairs, says that if a severe recession is avoided, it will be similar to the 1981-1982 recession. The world economic slowdown since the Depression of the 1930s, then those polled are significantly more pessimistic than the pre-recession forecasters. Said Neufeld: "If you look at the 20 or so major Canadian forecasts, you'll find that none of them point towards a severe recession." But the problem, he added, is that gloomy expectations could become a self-fulfilling prophecy, particularly when they spread through the business community. "That mood of pessimism," he explained, "has the potential to change the degree of severity and the length of the recession."

Containing a trend that has been growing in



Canadians' negative attitudes could do more harm to a battered economy

recent years, people seem to be looking to new sources for solutions to their economic problems. Business is up, government is out. Forty-five per cent of those polled said that they look to business to take care of their economic interests, down slightly from 54 per cent a year earlier, but still up considerably from the 33 per cent in 1984, the first year the question was asked. The number who say to government is now down dramatically, to just 27 per cent from 49 per cent in 1984. And although 40 per cent say that they rely on friends, that is the highest level since the inception of the poll. In 1984, 16 per cent of respondents said, again, said Stel. Alan Gregg, president of Deacons Research Ltd., said that those findings do not necessarily mean that Canadians have fallen in love with business. Said Gregg: "The question is a little bit like: 'What's your favorite food, biscuits, liver or sauerkraut? You have to give some answer, and if you listed one over twice that little while, then it's going to get chosen less.' In fact, across the country, a significantly large 12 per cent of the respondents declared to pick any of the three.

When asked next about the performance of the sector they chose as best able to look after their interests, respondents who named government were clearly the least satisfied. Almost half—48 per cent—said that government has done a poor job with only 16 per cent saying that it had done well. On the other hand,

cheded residents of Quebec, people who live in large cities, those under the age of 30 and those with annual household incomes of over \$60,000. As well, there was a tendency for those who feel most dissatisfied with their current and future economic prospects to report that they were also at least confident about their ability to look after themselves.

That tendency towards self-reliance is not just a Canadian phenomenon. It is even more clearly evident in the Eastern Bloc countries that are making the difficult transition to a free-market economy. In several of the free-market, Neufeld said, and that the worldwide trend is driven by people's recognition that governments cannot even manage their own affairs competently. Let alone deliver on all their promises. Declared the 65-year-old economist: "It is a fundamental sociological change from my younger days, for example, when we really did think that governments could solve problems." The economic developments of the past year clearly did not encourage Canadians to resurrect that attitude from the past.

HOW SEVERE IS THE RECESSION?

British Columbians and Albertans seem the most optimistic

Q: Would you say the economy is heading into a period of severe recession, mild recession, mild improvement, significant improvement, or is the economy going to stay the same?

	Severe recession	Mild recession	Stay the same	Mild/good improvement
NATIONAL	39%	54%	6%	4%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	21	67	9	4
PRAIRIES	32	57	7	3
Alberta	28	63	8	2
Saskatchewan	42	43	7	3
Manitoba	32	55	3	0
ONTARIO	41	53	4	3
QUEBEC	40	47	8	5
ATLANTIC	36	54	6	3
New Brunswick	29	64	6	2
Nova Scotia	42	57	6	3
Prince Edward Is.	43	57	6	3
Newfoundland	40	47	9	4

REINIA DALGLEISH

A CUTTHROAT DEAL?

Talks with Mexico complicate Canadian attitudes

Frank Hiles, 61 among the two per cent of Canadians surveyed in the MacLean's/McCormick poll who cited free trade as the country's most important issue, and he opposes it. The 70-year-old retired tool and die maker from Peterborough, Ont., and a former union steward, got by signing the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. "The government got the best of Canadians," he said. "They got pelted like a boar." Hiles, who emigrated from Hungary 33 years ago after spending a year in a Soviet prison camp, said that free trade is part of a plan, by a pro-business government, to reduce labor costs and increase profits. The country should abandon the accord with the United States and not even consider making a similar arrangement with Mexico, he said. And Added Hiles: "I'm worried for the new generation, not for me."

The free trade agreement has always received a cool reception from Canadians, although they gave Prime Minister Brian Mulroney a clear mandate in 1988 to implement the deal. Still, now, a majority of those surveyed say that Canada should withdraw from the agreement (questions 24 and 25 in the poll; see page 32). Indeed, 55 per cent of the respondents said that Canada should withdraw from the accord in the negotiations that the FTA will allow Ottawa to abandon the FTA with our socialist colleague, compared with 46 per cent who preferred to maintain the accord intact.

Opinions on the free trade agreement vary significantly according to demographic and geographic factors. Senior citizens (34 per cent) and those who have not graduated from high school (30 per cent) were more likely to say that they want out of the agreement. Among those more likely to want to keep the deal were respondents with annual household incomes of \$75,000 or more (25 per cent) and those with university education (19 per cent). Respectably, the strongest support for the FTA is in Alberta (51 per cent), British Columbia (47 per cent) and Quebec (44 per cent). Dopoulos

is strongest in Ontario, where 56 per cent of respondents favored ending the agreement.

The issue becomes more complicated when Canada's anticipated involvement in free trade negotiations between the United States and Mexico is raised. Fourty-four per cent of respondents favour the negotiations continuing, according to the poll—and to negotiate agreements with Mexico—despite already 35 per cent another 31 per cent said that the trade pact with the United States should be renegotiated for new negotiations while Canada goes ahead with talks with Mexico. Seventeen per cent

even though they say that the actual agreement with the United States should be better. Decima Research Ltd. president Allen Gregg, whose firm also pollutes the federal Conservative, says that last Monday's polling consistently shows that while there is no support in Canada for negotiating a place in the world trade system, many Canadians find the changes that are necessary very threatening. "The more you look at the free trade issue in context with the Mexico talks, the more apprehensive the government can expect."

Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, which wants the government to cancel the FTA, said that she is not surprised by the poll's results. "Canadians know that they're paying a very high economic price for this agreement," Carr said. As for negotiating an agreement with Mexico, where workers earn about 80 cents an hour, Carr added, "It's great to make all that stuff at cheap prices, but what happens if there is no one left with any money to buy?"

In his part, Gordon Ritchie, one of the senior Canadian officials who negotiated the FTA, says that Canadians do not understand the implications of terminating the accord or renegotiating it for a new period of duration. "The protectionists cannot be appeased," he said, "and the Americans would not react kindly to seeing Canadian negotiators say, 'We'll drop the FTA.'"

"The American protectionists would get a very strong card to play. We would be hurt, there is no question," said Ritchie, who is encouraged by one of the poll's findings. Even during the traumatic post-living addressed period and with a re-

cession, for out of 10 people still support the FTA, despite the fact that much of Canada's biggest trade advantage—an undervalued Canadian dollar—has been wiped out. Those results are well in line with the 75 per cent who favoured the concept of free trade when Mervin's first asked the question in the 1988 annual poll. But then, Canadians were far more confident on all fronts half a decade ago.

BRIDGET BALGUSH



Free trade could become a hot election issue again



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Lorrie McClinton has a big dog, bolts her doors and keeps a knife and a baseball bat nearby

HIGH ANXIETIES

Many people no longer feel safe, even at home

Lorne McClester's fear began six years ago, when she was attacked by an intruder at her sister's home in Newton, at southwestern British Columbia. She was alone in the house when she answered a knock at the door. A man pulled the door open, grabbed McClester by the neck and threw her against the wall, shouting, "Get up now or I'll break your bones." The intruder left an intruder mark on McClester's nose, 22, a homeowner from Surrey, B.C., 49 hours of Vancouver. "I've never had to fear for my life before," she said as a fellow afternoons later taking part in the Maclean's/Decima poll. Now living with her boyfriend and their two-year-old son, she keeps a big dog, has double locks on the doors and curtains in the windows that will scatter shrapnel. She leaves the lights on when she is sleeping alone, keeps

a phone and a knife nearby and has a baseball bat under the bed. Her boyfriend, she added, has taught her how to break someone's neck.

McClester was among the 62 per cent of respondents who said that they are taking more precautions than they used to. Indeed, the poll discovered alarming levels of anxiety, especially among women. In every province, the majority of respondents who have never been victims of crime—a quarter of all respondents and 44 per cent of women—expressed concern about walking the streets of their own communities at night. Almost half—50 per cent of women—and that they would be concerned if they saw a group of young people approaching them dynamics 35 to 45 in the poll test, page 331. The results, said pollster Alan Gregg, president of Decima Research

Ltd., "suggest that the notion of Canada as a peaceful kingdom applies to history, but not to the chronicles of modern-day times."

The poll also revealed signs of an increasing sense of unease. Sixty per cent of respondents said that they now use a weapon—still a relatively small figure but substantially up from 1993. Given the fact that it is double the percentage found in a poll published in the July 5, 1999, issue, when Maclean's and Decima asked the same question. Of the non-victims of burglaries, 14 per cent—for men of whom many are women—said that they would buy one if Canadian law made their purchase easier.

The concern about personal safety is most evident in Canada's cities. Six out of 10 residents from communities with a population of 100,000 or more—and eight out of 10

Brampton—and that they keep their doors locked at all times, even when they are home. Conversely, six out of 10 respondents from smaller communities said that they do not always lock up.

Toronto in particular emerged as a focus for growing concerns about personal safety. Respondents across Ontario were more likely than those in other provinces to be taking more safety precautions (68 per cent, compared with 55 per cent in Quebec and Atlantic Canada at the other extreme). But that figure reached its peak in Toronto, at 71 per cent. And after several years of persistent reports of youth crime and gang activity in Toronto's news media, that city's residents also registered the most negative assessment of young people. Two-thirds of Torontonians said that the behaviour of youths had worsened in the past five years, compared with just under half of respondents nationwide.

According to the federal government's Canadian Crime Survey, Justice Statistics, crimes of violence which include homicide, attempted homicide, sexual and other assaults, and robbery rose to 344,992 in 1999 from 347,535 in 1979, an increase of 69 per cent, while the population went up by just eight per cent. The experts disagree over whether fear has grown out of proportion to the actual risk. Toronto police Staff Sgt. John Andrews noted that at least part of the statistics increase is due to the fact that victims report incidents much more readily now than they did a decade ago. Criminologist Paul Brantingham of Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., and that the situation in Canada does not warrant a nervous instability. "There is a group of people that keep saying we have a real, significant and growing crime problem like the United States," said Brantingham. "But on the whole, we have a much lower crime rate. It's important to keep that in perspective."

Still, many officials of women's groups say that they cannot allow women's fears to be trivialized. "The reality is that 37 per cent of women in Canada can expect to be sexually assaulted in their lives," said Connie Gibbons, co-ordinator of urban safety initiatives at the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children in Toronto. "Violence against women is with us wherever we go," she added. And in fact, groups at many Canadian cities are already working on making the streets safer—especially for women—with better lighting and other measures.

But certainly personal experience alone did not seem to justify some levels of concern registered in the poll. Eighty-two per cent of respondents (whether or not they had their homes broken into) said that they had never ever heard

of a break-in in their neighbourhood. Asked if they had ever been mugged or physically assaulted, 59 per cent said no—a response that was very significantly between men and women, or from country to city. Only four per cent of women reported that they had been physically assaulted, but fully 37 per cent of them said that they were afraid to be alone at night in the streets of their communities.

As for handguns, federal statistics reinforce their ownership to generate gun collectors or people who can establish that they need them for protection, such as jewelers' counters or prospectors in remote areas. In a series of follow-up interviews, respondents who acknowledged that they owned handguns and that they had acquired them legitimately for collectors' items. Lee Forrest, 42, a retired teacher from Saint John, N.B., owns three handguns as part of a collection, but said that he

if they saw a group of young people in their neighborhood, asked if they had ever been mugged or physically assaulted, 59 per cent said no—a response that was very significantly between men and women, or from country to city. Only four per cent of women reported that they had been physically assaulted, but fully 37 per cent of them said that they were afraid to be alone at night in the streets of their communities.

Follow-up interviews with respondents illustrated a wide range of attitudes towards young people. Santa Rossina Bowen, 26, who lives alone in a high-rise apartment building at the end of Halifax, on a street with high levels of drug abuse, rapes and muggings, said that young people have changed for the worse. "They're rougher, they're tougher kids," says Bowen. "When we approached

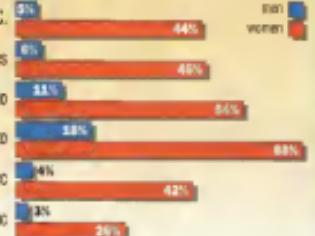
the group of teenagers at the bus stop, they'd go the other way," she said. "It's getting harder." The 36-year-old Elsie Lehman expressed a different view. A part-time airport bus driver in Millar, Alta., a summer town of 1,700, 50 km south of Edmonton, Lehman noted that four per cent of respondents who said that young people in their communities were becoming much better. "They're growing up a lot quicker today," said Lehman. "A lot of people think society's going down the drain. But as these kids grow up, they have to look after themselves. They're taking more responsibility as a younger age."

Still, Lehman's sunny outlook had few adherents. Indeed, nearly four out of 10 respondents were so skewed by young people's behavior that they said there should be security systems or patrols on duty in public schools during the school day. Support for that suggestion reached a majority in Quebec (60 per cent) and in cities with populations of more than 100,000.

Take, for example, other sections of the political culture. Among the political squires, the economy—the question on personal safety created a disquieting picture of a nation that seems as saline slipping away. Said Dominic Gougeon, "There is a sense of losing everything you would count on, the old cliché that Canada is the best country in the world." If that is what is happening, it is a deceptively insistent theme that many Canadians' concern about their personal safety are anchored. Confident, Simon Fraser's Brantingham. "There's a difference between pride and peace." The difficulty, for the many Canadians who find the world increasingly frightening, is to know where to draw the line between the two.

FEAR IN THE STREETS

Women, especially, feel threatened when night falls
Q: Generally speaking, are you afraid to walk the streets of your community at night alone?



would never consider using them for self-defense. On the other hand, Liz Gaullot, a 45-year-old truck fleet dispatcher from Montreal who owns six handguns, said that he would buy one for his personal protection if allowed. "If I needed it, I would need it," added Gaullot, who said that he has never been mugged and had his house burglarized in the past five years.

Closely experiences like that left them mark on Gaullot and other respondents. Among the 16 per cent who reported having been mugged or physically assaulted, concern for personal safety was significantly higher. While 35 per cent of that group expressed fear of being alone in the streets at night, the number dropped to 54 per cent among those who had not been victimized.

In the poll's two questions about the behavior of young people, consciousness was played a significant role in the responses. While 45 per cent of rural residents and that young people were behaving worse than they used to in, 34 per cent in the largest cities expressed the same opinion. In rural areas, while four out of 10 respondents said that they would be concerned

SEX, POLITICS AND DREAMS

HOW THE POLL WAS DONE

The seventh annual Maclean's year-end poll is based on 1,500 interviews conducted with a representative national sample of Canadian residents 18 years or older in all 10 provinces. Respondents were interviewed by telephone between Nov. 1 and Nov. 20.

The results are presented in percentages. In those polled, roundoff to the nearest integer number. Of course, 12 percent is in the range from 11.5 to 13.4. Results are considered accurate within a range of 2.6 percentage points, above or below the figure given. 19 times out of 20, the margin for judgment of error is larger; for the judgments cited in some of the articles, such as responses broken down according to province, region, sex or age group.

Figure following charts represent the percentage of respondents who said that they did not know or chose not to answer a question. The figures inside boxes are exposure to the issue or similar questions published in previous Maclean's/Decima year-end or midyear polls.



Decima's Griggs: "we have never identified a blander mood"

6. In your opinion, what is the most important issue facing Canada today—the one about which you, yourself, are most concerned?

	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984
Cost/Taxes	23	—	—	—	—	—
Economy/Business/Interest rates	21	—	—	—	—	—
Environment/Natural Resources	9	—	—	—	—	—
Unemployment	9	—	—	—	—	—
National unity/Integration	6	—	—	—	—	—
Government leadership/Prime Minister	7	—	—	—	—	—
Deficit/Government spending	6	—	—	—	—	—
Social and moral issues/Crime/Drugs	4	—	—	—	—	—
Peace/Gulf/Terror to peace	4	—	—	—	—	—
Other issues (total)	8	—	—	—	—	—
DNSA	4	—	—	—	—	—

7. How satisfied are you with your personal economic situation right now? Would you say that you are:

	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984
Very dissatisfied	7	8	3	8	8	8
Dissatisfied	24	21	17	20	21	18
Satisfied	61	69	71	66	62	65
Very satisfied	6	11	12	9	11	11

8. Thinking about the future and your personal economic prospects, would you say that you are:

	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984
Very pessimistic	0	3	2	2	2	2
Pessimistic	23	18	11	13	14	17
Optimistic	54	70	78	76	71	71
Very optimistic	7	10	10	9	8	8
DNSA	2	5	1	0	0	1

9. Who do you look to/care to look after your economic interests: government, business or unions?

	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984
Government	27	26	47	42	48	—
Business	45	50	31	30	28	—
Unions	18	15	13	14	10	—
DNSA	12	10	14	11	9	—

10. And would you say (respondent's choice in question 4) has been doing a very good, good, fair, poor or very poor job looking after your economic interests?

Very poor	7
Poor	11
Fair	33
Good	33
Very good	7
DNSA	9

11. Compared with a few years ago, are you personally a lot more confident, a bit more confident, no more or less confident, a bit less confident or a lot less confident in your ability to look after your economic interests as your own?

A lot less confident	8
A bit less confident	17
No more or less confident	21
A bit more confident	27
A lot more confident	19



GST protest: the opposition to taxes is approaching the level of revolt

12. If you had a problem in your community that affected a large number of people in your area, whom do you think would be most likely to turn to for assistance? Would it be:

An elected politician in your area	32
A local business leader	7
A volunteer organization in your area	15
A group of neighbors	25
Yourself	29
DNSA	7

13. In order to better deal with the new types of issues and concerns facing the country today, in your opinion, should we continue with government the way it is now, should we have government with more power for people to try to have a direct say in government decisions, or would you prefer to be given the opportunity to look after your own interests more often without any government at all?

Government same as now	11
More direct say in government	60
More opportunity to look after own interests	27
DNSA	2

14. Right now, would you say that the economy is heading into a period of significant improvement, at a point of mild improvement, into a mild recession or into a severe recession, or is the economy going to stay the same?

	1989
Severe recession	58
Mild recession	44
Stay the same	8
Mild improvement	15
Significant improvement	2

15. As you probably know, some time ago the Prime Minister and the provincial premiers drafted a constitutional agreement called the Meech Lake accord. The accord was not passed and did not become law. Do you personally believe that the failure of the Meech Lake accord will be very good for Canada, good for

Canada, bad for Canada, sorry bad for Canada or make no difference at all in the long run?

Very bad	6
Bad	20
Make no difference	41
Good	22
Very good	6
DNSA	5

16. As you may know, now that the Meech Lake accord has failed, the federal government has established a commission to hold hearings across the country to ask Canadians what kind of constitutional agreement they want. In your opinion, is this the right time to be returning to the constitutional question or should governments leave the issue alone for a while?

The federal government	83
Your provincial government	9
The business community	8
Unions	2
The behavior of other provincial governments	4
The behavior of people in your province	14
The behavior of people in other provinces	7
DNSA	6

17. A new constitutional proposal to replace the Meech Lake accord was introduced after a process involving extensive consultations and public input—including public meetings in every province—would you personally be much more likely to support the proposal, somewhat more likely to support it, no more or less likely to support it, somewhat less likely to support it or much less likely to support it?

Much less likely	9
Somewhat less likely	9
Neither more nor less likely	31
Somewhat more likely	34
Much more likely	12
DNSA	5

THE POLL TEXT



PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Quebecers cheering a Canadian flag on St-Jean-Baptiste Day: a general day for returning constitutional negotiations

15. As you probably know, the government of Quebec has established its own broad-based committee to make recommendations about Quebec's future. Suppose for a moment that the committee recommended that Quebec stay at Canada, but only if it was given a new deal and special powers that would allow it to make more decisions on its own.

If this happened and the people of Quebec supported the committee's recommendation, would you strongly support, support or strongly oppose the federal government's opening up negotiations to give Quebec this new deal and special powers?

Strongly oppose	25
Oppose	38
Support	21
Strongly support	6
DNSNA	8

16. What if exactly the same deal and powers were also offered to all provinces equally, including your own? Would you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose the new deal?

Strongly oppose	8
Oppose	20
Support	63
Strongly support	16
DNSNA	3

17. Regardless of what this committee recommends, how likely do you think it is that Quebec would choose to separate from Canada some

time in the 1990s—very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely?

Very unlikely	56
Somewhat unlikely	29
Somewhat likely	21
Very likely	14
Very unlikely	1

18. If a majority of Quebecers did, in fact, wish to separate, do you think the rest of Canada should do everything it can to convince them to stay, or just let them go?

18B	
Do everything to convince	
Quebec to stay	47
Just let them go	46
DNSNA	2

18. There has been a lot of discussion recently about Canada's future. Which one of the following systems do you personally prefer?

Complete political and economic independence for all 10 provinces?

Political independence for all 10 provinces—a Canadian common market like the European Economic Community?

Coexisting with a federal system but giving Quebec special powers?

Continuing with a federal system but giving all 10 provinces much more power?

Continuing with a federal system but giving the federal government much more power?

9
No change in the current system
21
DNSNA

20. How accurate would you say the Canadian media's coverage of events is? Would you say that it is very accurate, somewhat accurate, not very accurate or not accurate at all?

Not accurate at all	7
Not very accurate	24
Somewhat accurate	58
Very accurate	11
DNSNA	2

21. In general, would you say that members of the media report on events from a right-wing bias, from an objective viewpoint or from a left-wing bias?

Left-wing bias	19
Objective viewpoint	63
Right-wing bias	18
DNSNA	10

22. Some people say that the information they receive from the media helps them to understand world events and things happening around them. Others say that this information just confuses them and does not do much to help them understand events. Which one of these two views best represents your own?

Media help you understand events	72
Media confuse you	27
DNSNA	1

23. Some people say that the Canadian media's tendency to report only news is responsible for the Canadian public's current aversion of cynicism and their lack of faith in government. Other people say that the media are reporting events as they happen and merely reflect rather than shape the public attitude towards government that we see today. Which one of these views is closest to your own?

Media are responsible for cynicism	26
Media just report the news	63
DNSNA	11

24. As you probably know, Canada entered into a Free Trade Agreement with the United States almost two years ago. As part of the agreement, either side can get out of the deal with six months' notice. At this point, do you personally think Canada should use the six-month clause to get out of the deal?

No	40
Yes	55
DNSNA	5

25. Now, the United States is negotiating a similar free trade agreement with Mexico. What do you think Canada should do?

Get out of our existing agreement with the U.S. and not get involved with the U.S.-Mexico negotiations	33
Keep our agreement with the U.S. but stay out of the U.S.-Mexico negotiations	17
Keep our agreement with the U.S. and enter into the U.S.-Mexico negotiations	16

Reopen our agreement with the U.S. and negotiate a new one that would include Canada, Mexico and the United States?

31
DNSNA
4

26. Thinking of government generally, would you say that in the past five to 10 years, all levels of government in Canada have become much more effective, somewhat more effective, somewhat less effective or much less effective in responding to people's needs, or has there been no real change in the effectiveness of government?

Much less effective	26
Somewhat less effective	38
No real change	26
Somewhat more effective	10
Much more effective	1

27. Would you say that in the past five to 10 years, your impression of politicians has become significantly more favorable, somewhat

more favorable, remained unchanged, become somewhat more unfavorable or became significantly more unfavorable?

Significantly more favorable	30
Somewhat more favorable	23
Remained unchanged	24
Somewhat more unfavorable	10
Significantly more unfavorable	2
DNSNA	1

28. Supporters of the three main political parties say that their party can make a real difference to the type of government we re-

ceive from time to time. Some people just grumble but, in the end, do not do much to do about it. Others write letters and sign petitions to protest. Still others are prepared to take to the streets and even resort to violence to make their anger known. Which one of these three types of people do you think you are most likely to be, if the tax situation should worsen?

Just grumble	92
Write letters	67
Take to the streets	10
DNSNA	1



Mulroney and MPP demands to free politicians from the party line in voter constituencies

Source: When you don't care that much which of the main political parties is in power because, in the end, they would still govern pretty much the same. Which one of these two news headlines represents your view?

Makes a real difference	30
All governments act the same	69
DNSNA	1

31. Here are two statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each one:

It is impossible for governments to ever spend taxpayers' dollars wisely	30
Strongly disagree	8
Disagree	42
Agree	38
Strongly agree	12
DNSNA	2

As it is now, no federal government elected is ever going to understand and respond to the needs of my region

Strongly disagree	8
Disagree	46
Agree	37
Strongly agree	10
DNSNA	1

32. In the current system, when we elect politicians they stay in power and the next election is delayed. In your opinion, is this the best way to have things, or would you rather see a system where a majority of voters could sign a petition and remove their elected member any time they wanted?

Politicians in power until election	44
Politicians could be removed by petition	46
DKNA	1

33. In a parliamentary government, decisions are usually made by a cabinet after discussions among the ministers. In your opinion, is this the best way to make decisions, or would you like to see a system where governments are required to hold public consultations and meetings with the public before they are allowed to make major decisions?

Decisions made in cabinet	28
Decisions made after public consultation	77
DKNA	2

34. Newly elected politicians vote the party line, that is, the same way the rest of the members of their party are going to vote. In your opinion, is this the best way to have things, or do you think elected politicians should be voting according to their own conscience, regardless of what their party's position is on a particular issue? If you would like to see a system where, if a majority of voters signed a petition, they could force their member to vote the way the voters wanted on a particular issue?

Politicians vote party line	10
Politicians vote according to their own conscience	49
Politicians heed petition	40
DKNA	1

35. As you probably know, Canadians pay their taxes in a lump sum and then governments decide how that money should be spent. In your opinion, is this the best way to have things, or would you prefer a system where taxpayers decided right on their tax form how they wanted their taxes to be spent?

Government decides	47
Taxpayers indicate how they want their taxes to be spent	52
DKNA	1

36. Government can also decide if it is necessary to spend more money in a given year than it has raised through taxes. Do you think that this is the best way to have things, or do you think governments should be required to spend only as much money as was raised through taxes?

16



Toronto night seems rosier, particularly, do not feel safe by themselves

Government can decide to spend more than taxes 21

Government is required to spend only as much as taxes 77

DKNA 2

37. Different people have told us that they look for different things in a leader to represent them. What is more important for you, for a leader:

a. to look after your region's interests even if it is not necessarily good for the rest of Canada, or to look after the national interests even if it is not necessarily good for your region

Look after your region's interests 34

Look after national interest 74

DKNA 2

b. to be someone experienced in politics, or someone new to politics?

Experienced in politics 68

New in politics 35

DKNA 4

c. to hold modern values, or to hold traditional values?

Modern values 67

Traditional values 38

DKNA 4

d. to understand and be sensitive to Quebec's interests, or to be able to put Quebec in its place?

Understand/sensitive to Quebec's interests 49

Put Quebec in its place 49

DKNA 2

4. to understand and be sensitive to English Canada's interests, or to be able to put English Canada in its place?

Understand/sensitive to English Canada's interests 65

Put English Canada in its place 39

DKNA 5

5. to be someone with no strong views who tries to reach agreement among people with different views, or someone who is prepared to stick to and fight for their own views?

Tries to reach agreement 49

Sticks fight for own views 51

DKNA 1

6. to be tough, or to be compassionate?

Tough 44

Compassionate 55

DKNA 5

7. Do you keep your doors locked at all times, even when you are at home?

No 47

Yes 53

DKNA 16

8. Has your house ever been broken into?

No 69

Yes 16

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THE POLL TEXT

40. Offer those who answered No! Do you know of anyone in your neighborhood who has had their home broken into?

No	48
Yes	51
DK/NA	1

41. Are you personally taking more, the same or fewer precautions to protect your personal and household safety today than you did a few years ago?

Never	2
Same	36
More	62

42. Do you own a handgun?

No	80	July, 1989
Yes	16	97
DK/NA	1	0

43. For those who answered No! If there were to gun laws in Canada, would you get a gun?

No	66
Yes	14

44. Generally speaking, are you afraid to walk the streets of your community at night alone?

No	74	July, 1989
Yes	26	24

45. Have you ever been mugged or physically assaulted?

No	90
Yes	10

46. In your opinion, has the behaviour of young people in the community you live in become much better or somewhat better, not changed or become somewhat worse or much worse over the past five years?

Much worse	14
Somewhat worse	38
Somewhat better	16
Much better	4
Has not changed	38
DK/NA	1

47. If you were walking down the street in your community and you saw a group of eight or 10 young people in your way, would you be very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned or not concerned at all?

Not concerned at all	26
Not very concerned	22
Somewhat concerned	38
Very concerned	71
DK/NA	1

48. As far as you know, should there be security patrols/safety/security guards on duty at the public schools in your community during the school day?

No	80
Yes	18
DK/NA	2

49. As far as you are concerned, is sex necessary for a happy marriage?

No	19
Yes	78
DK/NA	3

50. Do you own a handgun?

No	80	July, 1989
Yes	16	97
DK/NA	1	0



Estimates show men are much more likely than women to say they fantasize about sex.

51. Everyone, at one time or another, has sexual fantasies. I would like to read you a list of some of these and have you tell me for each one whether it is something that you have thought about often, sometimes, rarely or never. How about:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	DK/NA
Having sex with someone of a different race?	56	12	17	6	11
Having sex with a close friend?	56	10	18	6	11
Having sex with a complete stranger?	56	10	17	3	12
Having sex with a co-worker?	60	9	15	3	13
Having sex with more than one partner at the same time?	64	9	12	3	12
Having sex in a public place?	74	8	7	2	11
Having sex with yourself?	79	4	5	1	11
Having a homosexual/lesbian affair?	83	2	2	1	12

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PHONE	[Large blank area for phone number]

AFFAIRS OF THE HEART

Canadians affirm their belief in love and fidelity

At 34, Sandra Taylor has been married to the same man for 14 years. She and her husband, Blaine, have three children and make ends meet as waiters in Mount Rose, N.S., near the Bay of Fundy. And although they have had tough times, Taylor says that her marriage is solid and thriving. Yet 91 per cent of Canadian questionnaires in the Maclean's/Globe poll say that, and that a deep and emotional love is important to a happy marriage. In fact, 86.50 and 50 in the last test, page 32. But while the 78 per cent who also believe that a happy marriage depends on a satisfying sex life, Taylor maintained that sex is only incidental to the love that bind. "My husband and I are together because we are friends," she said in a follow-up interview with Marlene Lai. "We do things, we talk, we grow up together." And although she said that sex is one of the best things about her marriage, the relationship does not hinge on it. "If my husband got ill and we couldn't have sex, we would still be together," she said finally.

A view of sex, love and fidelity vastly different from traditional North American values such as those expressed by Taylor and others was revealed in 1976 by Cuthacionian's new president, Valday Lloyd. The president, a renowned poet and playwright, spoke freely to the media about his 26-year marriage. "Oleg and I have not professed our love for each other for at least 20 years," he said, "but we both feel that we are probably inseparable." However, 55, came to acknowledge having extramarital affairs, but the 78 per cent of Canadians in the survey who did not share his views were shocked.

Most of Canada's affairists are church social workers at the Blake Institute of Psychiatry at Toronto or couples who need help

with their shaky marriages. And while she said that she believes that the importance of love and sex varies from one relationship to another, the issue of trust is paramount. "People get married for lots of reasons," she said, adding that there is a misconception of expectations, that they expect the same things from a marriage. "She said that some people get very worried when that person leaves. Love, she said, means different things to different people. Sex, too, is only as impor-

tance. "Then, couples have to grapple with issues of trust," she said. "If those can be resolved, then it may move on to a deeper understanding." But she added, "In my case, she added, the issue is trust and credibility which is where the problem lies." She said that the most people say they want to be loved, but the most important thing that there is a consciousness of expectations, that they expect the same things from a marriage." She said that some people get very worried when that person leaves. Love, she said, means different things to different people. Sex, too, is only as im-

portant as the couple's desire to

get married.

Like most of the respondents that Marlene Lai interviewed, Sandra Dunning stressed the importance of trust in a relationship. An office worker and mother of two in Delta, B.C., Dunning, 32, has been wedded for five years



Open relationships like the Havels' had little appeal to respondents

test as the individuals concerned think it is. "If both partners think sex is not important, then it probably isn't," Blaine said, adding that partners only argue if the partners have different views.

Some couples agree openly to have affairs, and while Blaine said that those arrangements can occasionally be successful problems arise if one spouse has been presented into the arrangement or if the affair takes place with

She maintains strong views about the basics of successful relationships. "A good healthy physical relationship is pretty well mandatory," she said. But she added that trust, not love, is the glue that keeps people together. Sand Dunning "I believe when they get married everybody thinks they are in love. But that is a transient thing." And she expressed skepticism about arrangements like the Havels'. "The older generation had marriages like that," Dunning



Like many others, Sandra Dunning insists that trust is essential

and. "They stayed together out of love of hate. But if I had a person I could not trust, well, he'd drive the truck. Trust is everything. I am a one-mom woman and I expect the same."

Jane Touser and Sally Moore, two articulate and courageous women who operate a family therapy clinic in Toronto, and that they, too, do not see open marriages as progressive. "What's the point? Who's married at all?" asked Touser. Instead, they said that progressive attitudes to marriage such as those practised by the Havels are really signs of a time when women had fewer choices. In previous decades, women often found themselves trapped at unhappy and abusive relationships. But Touser told Marlene Lai: "Times have changed. We find now that women are leaving more often than men." She added: "Fifteen years ago, this was not believed. But women have more access to education and they are increasingly more likely to stay with an abusive partner." More recently, love, or at least a "feeling of being loved," is essential to a happy relationship. "When that goes, and here does not go, that is still one of the main causes of marriage breakups," she said.

Indeed, both women and the sense that love has died often leads to adultery. Marlene Lai experts say that more men than women have affairs. Women usually have separate support systems in place when a marriage is in trouble—they talk to their mothers, their sisters and their friends. But if men confide in anyone, it is most often another woman. And Menz said: "A person will feel like they lose the person they tell the truth to." This is "injury." Because adulterers will also feel uncomfortable around the persons they are lying to. These affairs, after all, are "very, very destructive." Deedee Taiwan: "We never think they are OK. And no

matter what happens, the old marriage is over. When there is infidelity, the couple loses something they can never recover."

Clearly, most Canadians polled held similar views. Love, sex and fidelity are the declared preferences of a huge majority; whether they are divorced, married or have never been married. The responses were remarkably consistent from Victoria to Corner Brook, among young and old, male and female, rich and poor. But there were some striking patterns to the total majority who said that lost love and sex were not necessary, or that affairs add grace to a relationship. Respondents aged 36 to 34, those with household incomes under \$10,500 and those with little education were least likely to think sex is necessary, while respondents between 35 and 54, those with incomes over \$75,000 and respondents with a university education were most likely to say that it is. However, separated and divorced people were slightly less likely to consider fidelity necessary for a happy marriage. And senior citizens, 65 and older, were more likely than any other age-group to think that affairs could enrich a relationship.

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Me." Therapists often call people who are unfaithful to one another and who are working very hard to patch things up. But they will never get back what they lost," she said.

Even sociologist Roger Liley, who heads an Atlantic-based organization called sexnet, or the National Organization of Sexual Enthusiasts, says that love and trust are essential to happy relationships. "You can't deal with sex without intimacy," he said. "Without caring, sex is not satisfying." The name of Liley's group is tongue-in-cheek to reflect the light-hearted, buoyant approach to sex that he advocates. But Liley, who earned a PhD with his study of the sexual psychology of human sexuality, says that his interest is in serious one. He loves North America's promising "responsible, honest and enthusiastic sex." Despite his progressive views, Liley cautions the sentiments of more conservative professionals. "Caring is still the bottom line," he says, but he adds that North Americans "are still very puritanical, repressive and conservative" when it comes to sex. "It's important for us to be more open, more free, more normal, more like any other age-group to think that affairs could enrich a relationship."

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CECILY ROSS

EXOTIC DAYDREAMS

Men and women agree on what they find arousing

During a late-November seminar at a high school in a small Ontario town, Sue Johnson, a Toronto-based broadcaster and sex counselor, talked with senior students about their sexual fantasies. Most of the boys were reasonably frank, she said, but many of the girls were "so embarrassed they could die." Women who responded to the annual MacLean's Decem poll were less circumspect than they need to be to say that they imagined several extramarital liaisons (50 in the poll total, page 32). And although poll results showed that young people seem to do more of most of their other sexuals than do seniors, that may not be true. Poll respondents also said they have the attitude that "men girls do not fantasize about intercourse. They are supposed to fantasize about a boy of chocolates, a dozen roses and a guy saying, 'I love you, I need you, I'll never leave you.'"

Poll respondents were asked if they ever imagined having sex with a stranger, a co-worker, a close friend, someone of a different race, more than one person or in a public place, referencing sex, or having a homosexual affair. Fully 72 per cent of men acknowledged thinking about at least one of those situations, as did 43 per cent of women. But men and women did generally agree on which of these sexual fantasies they found most arousing. The most popular, acknowledged by about a third of respondents, were sex with a close friend, with someone of a different sex and with a stranger. Least popular were videotaped sex sessions (by just over a third of 28).

Only 31 per cent of those polled said they had some of the fantasies. They included two-thirds of respondents over 35. Another 12 per cent declined to respond; leaving 57 per cent who acknowledged agreeing at least one of the sexual scenarios. This compares to almost three-quarters in the 18-to-29 age bracket. It was also significantly higher than among women with higher incomes and among residents of Quebec.

Men who said that they had one or more of the fantasies outnumbered women in every

age-group, but the gap narrowed among younger people. Three-quarters of women and 9 out of 10 men between 18 and 24 said that they had at least one, compared with 28 per cent of women and 58 per cent of men aged 40 or above. The biggest disparity was among Canadians 60 and older. In that group, only 15 per cent of women said that they had any of the

more often in movies and things," said the 36-year-old hairstylist. "It is more a part of life now." Thinking about sex is a born-and-learned instinct, she said, adding that she preferred not to discuss specific daydreams. "I do not necessarily want to do what I am fantasizing about," she said. "It is just a fantasy after all."

Responses differed significantly among respondents. Offering the high-scholarly insights in Quebec, only 36 per cent of respondents in Atlantic Canada said that they had even one sexual fantasy in memory. At the other extreme, nearly 56 per cent of those polled in Quebec said that they had at least five and as many as all eight of them. Sociologist Robert Genné, chairman of Canada's only university sociology department, at the University of Quebec in Montréal, said that the province's liberal sex attitudes are a result of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. It not only removed Quebec politics from the influence of the Révélée Catholique Church, but also produced an attitude that sex "was not the church's business," Genné said.

The poll results also reinforced that young people enthusiastically embrace sexual fantasies. Indeed, 83 per cent of respondents between 18 and 24 said that they enjoyed at least one of the fancies, and 48 per cent said that they had eight of them. Poll respondent Jennifer Smith, 29, a dirigible-and-potato-restaurant cook from Barrie, Ont., north of Toronto, is tall about sexual fantasizing, but "everyone does it." According to Johnson, younger Canadians are more comfortable with sex-related fantasies because, unlike their parents, they had sex education in schools. As well, she said, many have seen graphic sex depicted in movies and magazines. Added Johnson: "Concerned by pornography, these two groups' fantasies are more innocent, quite safe, as they know it is okay to fantasize." Concerns about AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases may have inhibited many young people's sexuals, but it has clearly not stifled their imaginations.

—L.M.



Popular fancies involve a friend—or a stranger

fantasies, compared with about half of men. But Sandra Perre, a psychology professor at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, said that these results may simply reflect older women's reluctance to talk about the subject. She added that while "men are expected to think about sex all the time, that is not in the sexual script for women."

But according to Connie Stasko, a poll respondent who lives in the Vancouver suburb of Burnaby, these stereotypes are changing. Women "talk more about sex and they use it

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THE ROCK REBORN?

NEWFOUNDLANDERS ARE LOOKING TO THE HIBERNIA OILFIELD TO IMPROVE THE PROVINCE'S ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Neasted deep on the rugged shoreline of Newfoundland's Placentia Bay, the failing village of Arnold's Cove is being reborn. Fifteen years ago, the community was fighting for its life after the neighboring Conoco-Choice oil refinery closed down. Now it has found a quarter of Arnold's Cove's 1,700 residents to leave as seasonal tourists. Newcomers who are flocking back to the village, which has re-emerged as one of the most prosperous in the province, are the refinery's replacement.

The refinery, reopened under new owners two years ago, is busy turning foreign crude oil into products. At the same time, the village fish-processing plant, owned by National Sea Products Ltd., is operating at full capacity. And nearby, preliminary work has begun at the site where a huge, concrete base for an offshore production platform will be built for the Hibernia oilfield. Construction of the \$1.2-billion platform is expected to create as many as 1,500 jobs at the site. Declared Arnold's Cove Mayor Thomas Osborne: "The future looks bright." And that sentiment is spreading rapidly in Newfoundland, the province that has long been identified as the poorest in Canada.

Despite a crisis in the traditional Atlantic fishery, Newfoundlanders are again looking to the sea to refloat their economy. Currently, however, the anticipated wealth lies in the oil buried deep beneath the Great Bear off New-

foundland's northeast coast. Estimates predict that developing the first offshore oilfield at Hibernia will create 4,800 jobs during peak periods of the construction phase and 1,100 jobs for the 18-year life of the field. According to Newfoundland's Liberal premier, Clyde Wells, that expected oil boom will lift the province's private sector to new levels of prosperity. Said Wells during an interview with *Maritime*: "The economy is ready to take off." But how much of the anticipated new wealth will find its way into the provincial treasury remains in doubt. And Wells and the his indebted government is unlikely to be able to offer much assistance to any Newfoundlanders who fail to find a place at the expanding oil and construction ministries.

Still, Newfoundland's residents express cautious optimism about their economic outlook. According to one recent poll by Halifax-based Demosys Research Ltd., the proportion of Newfoundlanders who expect the economy to improve over the next year—despite the resource project Central Canada—has climbed to 36 per cent from 20 per cent six months

ago—the value of all goods and services produced in the province—will climb by 2.9 per cent during 1991, far ahead of the virtually flat growth of 1.1 per cent that the bank forecasts for the rest of the country.

Until recently, optimism was rare in Newfoundland. And in fact, the province's economy remains mired with painful problems. The most pressing is an unemployment rate, at 17.7-per-cent annual rate in November, was nearly double the 9.1-per-cent national rate. Most of the layoffs—which left 40,000 Newfoundlanders out of work—have taken place in the province's deeply troubled fishing industry. That industry received an additional jolt last month when federal officials further reduced the amount of northern cod that fishermen will be allowed to catch in 1991. In a measure directed at protecting fishing rod stocks, officials cut the Atlantic cod quota by 7,000 tons to 190,000 tons.

At the same time, the province's pulp-paper mills have also cut jobs in response to falling demand for their products. As well, Newfoundland's accumulated debt of \$4.5 billion has forced the government to control spending at a time when Wells says he would prefer to increase expenditures to stimulate the economy. Added the premier: "Our ability to deal with the economic impact of the recession is diminished."

And there are more deeply rooted problems that threaten to Underline the province's return to prosperity. A 1988 government-appointed Royal Commission on Employment, chaired by economist Douglas House, concluded that Newfoundland's high rate of literacy and post-secondary education were at the root of much of its economic problems. At the same time, some economists and business leaders say that the lack of dependence on agriculture, employment insurance and government transfer payments have spawned a welfare mentality among some Newfoundlanders. Added Victor Vautour,

man of Polaris Products International Ltd., the great St. John's-based fishing company: "Our biggest challenge is whether or not we will be able to change these attitudes."

But, for many Newfoundlanders, the government's prospects changed dramatically with the Sept. 14 signing of an intergovernmental agreement with the federal government. Newfoundland and its counterpart in private companies to spend \$5.2 billion developing the Hibernia oilfield, 200 miles southeast of St. John's. Under the accord, Ottawa promised to contribute 25 per cent of the construction costs up to a ceiling of

ment that opened life into the Hibernia project after more than two decades of successive negotiations. Wells, a lawyer who has been party to several previous victories in 1988, deeming it a "good-faith Conservative promise," pointed to the federal-province agreement that will reduce equalization payments to the province in step with previous revisions resulting from production. Declared the premier: "In financial terms, the project does little for the province." Still, he acknowledged, "In economic terms, it is building the strength of individuals and the confidence of a province as a whole. For us, it is a win-win situation."

AN IMMIGRATION DEAL

Quebec and Quebec concluded an agreement, a principle so non-negotiable. Under the terms, that federal Immigration and Employment Minister Barbara McDowell announced, Quebec will have exclusive responsibility for the selection and integration of immigrants to the province as long as they are not refugees or otherwise under the family reunification program.

BOUCHARD'S ADVOCACY

"Wake up," was the message to the West from federal Intergovernment Affairs Minister André Bouchard. In an interview with the *Winnipeg Free Press*, Bouchard, who raised the sovereignty-association at the 1980 Quebec referendum, said that independence for Quebec "does not mean to better people outside Quebec." He added, "If we did not do this, it has been closed, Quebec could go for sovereignty."

VANCOUVER ISDNAPPING

Five of seven suspects arrested in connection with the Dec. 21 kidnapping of Cypress Islander, 30, married daughter of Vancouver multimillionaire business tycoon James Pattison, were released on conditional bail. Two other suspects were released and bail appears to be set at an unspecified date. Those with Pattison's yacht last Dec. 21 were his father, who served as chairman of Vancouver's Expo 86, reportedly paid a \$200,000 ransom. The kidnappers, four of them parents, were arrested on Dec. 22 after taking a hostage to take them to a shopping spree.

HABITAT AGREEMENT

Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development Minister Thomas Stelzer announced that the federal government has reached an agreement in principle with the 490-member Oglala Sioux Tribe of north-central South Dakota. Under the terms of the \$31-million agreement, Ottawa will back the construction of a village for the natives and give them land status.

BREAKING GROUND

International Trade Minister John Crosier is scheduled to visit Vietnam during a 10-day tour of Southeast Asia starting on Jan. 6—the first visit by a Canadian cabinet minister to that country in more than 14 years.

ENDANGERED WILDLIFE

The World Wildlife Fund issued a warning that Canada risks losing major meat-eating predators, including cougars and bears, because of the loss of wilderness and over-hunting.



Wells on optimism that is shared by many economists



Osborne: 'The future looks bright' in a province based on economic problems

\$1.64 billion, as well as to guarantee loans of \$1.66 billion to the group of oil companies, led by Mobil Canada Inc., that will develop the

oilfield.

As well as jobs, the enterprise is expected to provide other benefits. Officials at Newfoundland Offshore Development Corp., the company that is overseeing the design and construction of the new Arnold's Cove, the massive platform conceive base, say that they plan to award the first of more than 400 subcontracts within the next few weeks. As a result, noted Maurice Mandel, senior economist of the Halifax-based Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, the Hibernia project will boost the construction industry and the commercial services sector.

But Wells says that he is still unhappy with some of the provisions in the September agree-

every dollar's worth of equalization we give back to the federal government, we gain a dollar's worth of dignity, self-respect and independence."

And despite his doubts about the terms, the unsmiling, radio-roughed premier says that he will pursue even larger megaprojects for his province. In one case, Wells says that he has overcome personal differences with Quebec's Premier Robert Bourassa over the failed Muskrat Lake construction accord in order to make progress towards an agreement on a \$13-billion project to develop two new hydroelectric power plants in Labrador. "Bourassa accepted [the deal]," Wells told *Maclean's*. "There is a good probability that we will have a deal."

In fact, both provinces have shown a willingness to compromise since negotiations about

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CANADA

The project stalled last January Newfoundland and Labrador dropped its long-standing insistence that the power company in Labrador be forced to a renegotiation of the controversial 1986 contract that allows Hydro-Québec to buy most of the power generated from an existing dam at Churchill Falls at hydro-Québec's prices. Hydro-Québec, meanwhile, has told officials in Newfoundland that it is prepared to pay higher amounts for its share of the output from any new power plants. Stéphane Cyr and André Lehoux, chairman of Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro, "We'd like to get the best price for the power."

Those aviation understandings, however, will do little to release Newfoundland's \$10,000 residents from their reliance on fishing, forestry and mining, and energy misappropriation. To that end, Wells's government has hired House to lead the Economic Recovery Commission, directed at diversifying the province's economy. The commission, says House, has applied expertise and support programs for Newfoundland small businesses, and even acted directly in piecing together business deals between outside investors and local firms. Declared House, "There's a new division in Newfoundland small business."

But entrenched problems remain. Provincial government cost-cutting has forced the postponement of promised improvements in health care and education, despite Newfoundland's record of having the highest literacy rate of any of the provinces. In many communities that are remote from the coastline, rates of homelessness remain high - some relatively high - and unemployment among working-age people can be as high as 80 per cent. Declared Margaret Elliot, executive director of Food Banks for Newfoundland: "In many places, things are as bad as they were during the Great Depression."

At the same time, critics such as Casper Martin, president of the Newfoundland Industrial Polytechnic Association, say that Wells is focusing too much attention on megaprojects and diversifying the economy, and too little on rebuilding the province's embattled fishery. "You can't build economic recovery with policies which ignore the backbone of the economy," "Maritime innovation." Even in areas that are expected to benefit the most from the whorls of riches, some Newfoundlanders are doubtful that prosperity is really around the corner. Noted Alberto Wertheim, owner of a grocery and hardware store in Arnold's Cove, "Let's just say we are always a bit skeptical around here when people start saying that we are going to be rich."

Indeed, even the most optimistic of the province's residents think that it will take more than a single oilfield and a few enterprising small businesses to break Newfoundland's cycle of poverty. But in places like Arnold's Cove, renewed economic activity is at least beginning to erase some of the most painful memories of the past.

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TERROISTS FREE

Stalin 169 supporters gave a hero's welcome to three members of the so-called Jewish Underground when they were released from a Moscow-area prison seven days ago. The Jewish government freed Mosheach Leon, Shalom Nir and Uri Sharabot after they had served less than seven years of their life sentences for the 1983 murder of three Jews students at the West Bank's Islamic College. Left-wing critics said that the government appeared to be encouraging vigilante and that Palestinians serve longer sentences than the lesser crimes against Jews.

AN UNWELCOME VISITOR

Ronald Reagan visited Israel last week. Michael Dukakis, who had served as Reagan's press secretary, told reporters that he had served as Reagan's press secretary, "but since the Congress forced him to leave in 1987." A spokesman for the ruling National Salvation Front said that the presence of the 69-year-old former monarch could have avoided political confrontations. One year after the revolution that overthrew dictator Noriega, thousands of protesters have been demonstrating the resignation of the current government.

A VOTE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Yugoslav republic of Slovenia voted overwhelmingly to become an independent and sovereign state. Slovenes, the country's most prosperous region, have voted almost unanimous secession, saying that a complete break would come only if the six Yugoslav republics fail to work out a new political framework for the country within six months.

POLITICS AND VIOLENCE

The seven-worldly minority government of Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar survived a no-confidence motion earlier yesterday. Shekhar's handling of a wave of Hindu-Muslim violence that has killed more than 450 people in the past two months.

EROIDS TO GERMANY

Germans officials warned that they will not be able to provide housing for the increasing influx of Soviet Jews to their country. Although about 200,000 Soviet Jews have emigrated to Israel this year to escape rising anti-Semitism and political and economic chaos, 5,000 have gone to Germany. Despite its Nazi past, they say, Germany offers more stability than Israel. The Germans have imposed strict immigration rules, which take effect on Jan. 1, but their impact on Soviet Jews remains unclear.



Gorbachev: a new union treaty means a showdown with the nato republics

WORLD

FIGHTING OFF 'DARK FORCES'

Just six weeks after Eduard Shevardnadze assumed the Soviet Union with his unexpected resignation, claiming that "decategorizing is gaining ground," President Mikhail Gorbachev appeared to insist his foreign minister's soon-to-be. Last week, in the midst of worsening food shortages, ethnic violence and political paralysis, the 2,204-member Congress of People's Deputies voted overwhelmingly to grant Gorbachev nearly total control over almost every key aspect of Soviet political and economic life. The Soviet president argued that he needed the new expansive powers to protect against "dark forces" stalking the country. But many of his critics, including Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, complained that Gorbachev will have

GORBACHEV FACED A BUDGET CRISIS AND A FRACTIOUS PARTY CONGRESS AS HE FOUGHT FOR GREATER POWERS

ist delegates were clearly upset at Gorbachev's choice of Yanayev, who symbolized to them a return to conservative Communist orthodoxy and whose relative obscurity raised concerns that he would merely be a Gorbachev yes-man. Only after an impassioned plea by the president that he needed someone "I can trust" did the delegates agree to hold a secret ballot. In that, Yanayev was a simple majority—and Gorbachev secured a measure of face.

At the same time, the nato-supported Gorbachev's blueprint for a new union treaty that would give the country's 15 republics limited autonomy while maintaining ultimate control at the center—what amounted to the top half of the report—was adopted. Yanayev, Romashov and the three Baltic republics, could do what it laid out in full right, setting Gorbachev on a potentially disastrous course in the coming year.

Still, he could count on his opponents with a daunting political record. The package of constitutional amendments that the congress approved by a vote of 1,355 to 116, with 89 abstentions, transforms the 88-member Council of Ministers into a much smaller and less powerful Council of Ministers under direct presidential control. The congress also approved a strengthened Federal Council, including representatives of all 15 republics and 20 smaller ethnic jurisdictions. The council, to be headed by the president and the vice-president, is designed to give republics a greater voice at the Kremlin, and to settle the country's potentially explosive regional conflicts. At the same time, the congress approved a National Security Council that Gorbachev will appoint; it amounts to an inner cabinet comprising leaders of the defense, interior and

foreign ministries and the KGB secret police.

Under powers granted to him when he first became general secretary last March, Gorbachev remains in charge of the armed forces and can declare direct rule in troubled areas under certain conditions. And under temporary powers granted by parliament last September, he can issue decrees to ease the transition of the ailing Soviet economy into a free-market system.

The congress last week did not define the powers of the vice-president, apparently leaving that for Gorbachev to decide. His first choice for the new post had been Stepanov, but after the foreign minister's resignation on Dec. 26, the Soviet president turned to Yanayev. Last Thursday, after the coldest Polish member said 31 votes to win on the first ballot—despite the fact that he was the only candidate—Gorbachev pleaded with the deputies to reconsider. "We have a last chance," he declared. "From then on, if that leadership fails to ensure that the turning point is passed, it should be swept off the political arena." Added Gorbachev: "I want someone alongside me I can trust." Despite charges of vote rigging by some central deputies, the Soviet president prevailed, and Yanayev became the country's fourth vice-president.

726-member Communist bloc in parliament, confirmed the fears of many observers when he told the congress last week. "I am a convinced Communist to the depth of my soul."

Earlier in the week, the congress approved Gorbachev's blueprint for a new union treaty and adopted a countrywide referendum on preserving the fractious federation. Deputies also endorsed a referendum on private land ownership; an apparent bid to rein in several republics that have liberalized property laws. As well, the congress adopted a resolution that stressed a need for an economic agreement between Moscow and the 15 Soviet republics for 1991. It gave Gorbachev and republican leaders just 10 days to complete work on it.

But in the 16-day congress was ending last week, Gorbachev told the deputies that republican legislators in Russia insisted on preserving only the equivalent of \$45.5 billion toward the national budget for 1991, about 83 per cent less than the gross regional product of the republics. If other republics followed Russia's lead and demanded cut their contributions to the \$494 billion national budget, Gorbachev warned, the result would be "a collapse not only of the economy, but of the union." The newly-enlarged president urged the participating parliamentarians to accept his demands. But at



Symbol: Yanayev (right) and a leader's need for a trustworthy right-hand man



week's end, a top Russian official said that the rate would not alter at all.

Gorbachev's supporters insisted that he had won a clear victory, but conceded that he had been beaten by the left and the right, and clearly determined to hold the country together, the Soviet president has chosen to strengthen his own power over the caprice of the new parliamentary bodies he has created. Soviet economist Lasse Pihlaja, an independent radical, "In 1991, the president may turn into a dictatorial regime, or someone else might do it for him," Shekhar added. "But he has one last chance—if he begins the year with a radical reform of the whole of our socioeconomic life. And I hope that if he does, the democratic movements, the nationalists and even more of the conservatives will support him." As the make-or-break new year begins, that was clearly a hope that many serious Soviets shared.

ANDREW HILSKI with correspondents reports

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WORLD

BRITANNIA

Embracing Islam

Rushdie appeals his Iran-imposed death sentence

Simon Rashed has a man trapped in his own wood estate, unable to wake up. Last week, the controversial British author tried yet again to persuade fundamentalist Iranian clerics to remove the death sentence that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini pronounced against him in February, 1989, for allegedly defaming Islam in his novel, *The Satanic Verses*. In a statement agreed in the presence of Moslem leaders in London, the 43-year-old Rashed, who has been in hiding for nearly two years, endorsed Islam and disavowed parts of the book that "insult the Prophet Mohammed or raise suspicion upon Islam." He also announced that he will appeal the publication of his novel's paperback. "I feel I have been condemned by God," said Rashed, adding a rare admission conducted by telephone. But he goes no too soon. Two days later, Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, declared that the death sentence still stands. Qasim Khomeini, who died in 1985, the cleric said that even if Rashed "repents and becomes the most pious Moslem on earth, there will be no change in this divine decree."

Jesidieh's book, a provocative work that questions the beliefs of Islam through an imaginary religion called Schismatism (which includes a heretical cult of prostitutes who take the names of Mohammed's wives), has sold 1.2 million copies...and has been translated into 15 languages...and has been banned in more than 30 countries. Britain and Iran even broke diplomatic relations over Khomeini's death sentence, only to restore them three months later despite the fact that Iranian leaders had refused to lift the death sentence.

The author's last gesture was peace from many North American Muslim leaders. But others said that Rushdie's entrance of Islam was the equivalent of a confession extracted at gunpoint. Following publication of *The Satanic Verses* in 1988, Rushdie said that, although he was raised a Muslim in India, he now had no religious affiliation. And to add insult to injury, I wish I had written a more decent book. After his name came in, Rushdie has had clearly come to feel otherwise—and to long for release from the specter of a fatwa encumbering with a hostile Muslim province.

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THE PERSIAN GULF

'We shall strike back'

Israel vows retaliation if Iraq attacks

Iraq President Saddam Hussein had uttered the threat before, but this time it seemed more immediate—and more serious. "If we have to take the first blow," Hussein said in a Spanish television interview broadcast last Wednesday, "then Tel Aviv will receive the next attack, whether or not Israel takes part." Drawing the Israelis into a shooting war would clearly weaken the ties between Washington and an Arab ally in the Persian Gulf. And that prospect plainly worried the Americans as the United Nations' Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait drew nearer. It was "a very realistic threat," said a Pentagon intelligence spokesman. For his part, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens said that there was "no need for panic." But he added, "If we are hit, we shall strike back."

Hussein's renewed threat again raised concern among U.S. members of Congress last week. That was exceedingly likely early in the new year. Another educator was the Pentagon's disclosure

that it would soon begin vaccinating U.S. troops against such deadly diseases as anthrax, typhoid and cholera, which, according to a recent CIA report, are part of Iraq's "usable stockpile" of biological weapons. As well, President George Bush tried to downplay public warnings by U.S. generals that they were not ready to launch an offensive by Jan. 15. In fact, Bush told reporters last Thursday, he was "very comfortable" with the combat readiness of U.S. forces in the Gulf.

The Americans sent a 17-ship carrier fleet to the Gulf last week, and the 16,000 marines and sailors they are transporting will bring the U.S. troop total in the region to some 380,000. Meanwhile, public opinion in Canada, which has sent 1,700 servicemen and women, three warships and 18 jet fighters to the Gulf, appeared to have turned against involvement in war. In a Gallup poll released last week, 55 per cent of respondents said that they were opposed to putting any U.S.-led offensive, and

only 36 per cent expressed support.

In the United States, the debate over the combat readiness of U.S. forces added to public misgivings. In a taped Christmas Day message to the troops, Bush pined, "It will always be best to bring you home without a single bullet fired." But he added that if it were otherwise, "the sacrifices you make will never be forgotten." On a lighter note, comedian Dick Hoyt, 87, following a personal tradition that he began during the Second World War, visited front-line U.S. troops on Christmas Day. But because of Saudi Arabia's religious sensitivity, the Festive hero harped his usual endurance of leggy show girls and even recited Hooper's script.

At sea, there was a Texas accident at the approaches to the Gulf when U.S. British and Australian sailors boarded a ship carrying contraband food to Iraq. Some of the 40 Arab women peace activists who were passengers on the 11,000-ton Irahi Khalidah tried to seize the boarding party's weapons. A scuffle followed, and U.S. sailors used moderation grenades to restore order. There were no casualties, said a Pentagon spokesman.

On the diplomatic front, Washington and Baghdad apparently made no progress towards finding a mutually acceptable plan for talks on the crisis. Hussein continued to insist on Jan. 12 in the first debate in which he would receive U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. And Baker continued to assert on Jan. 3, saying that the U.S. was close to the oil deadline. In Baghdad, 20 Iraqi ambassadors who had

been summoned home for consultations began returning to their posts with Hussein's message that he wanted a "serious and constructive dialogue" with Washington. But the Iraqi stragglers repeated his determination to stay at war.

Meanwhile, Hussein's latest warning of a missile strike against the Israeli led to counterwarnings from Jerusalem. Said Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir: "Whoever will dare to attack us will be attacked seven times more." But he added that "we know how to act with restraint." Clearly, if Hussein should attack Israel, and especially if he uses chemical weapons, he would court a catastrophic response. Apart from its farmland in Jordan, Israel is known to have an array of sophisticated missiles capable of hitting Iraqi targets.

Meanwhile, Defense Minister Arens played down the effectiveness of Hussein's missile and chemical warfare-capability. "There is no prospect of a run of long missiles hitting on Israel," he said. Baghdad's long-range weapons were "cumbersome to operate," and Arens, adding "Only a few, if any, would reach Israel." But

some independent analysts challenged that assurance. David Lachman of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies predicted that at a maximum range, Iraq could hit an Israeli target city with up to 35 missiles, each carrying 300 lb. of nerve or mustard gas. Reeves Peabody, defense analyst for the daily *Ha'aretz*, estimated a worst-case total of 18 missile hits. Retired brigadier-general Aharon

Lewin, a former deputy chief of military intelligence, pointed out that the warheads of missiles able to reach Israeli targets from Iraq would be relatively small. But he conceded that if one did hit a populated centre, it could cause "hundreds of casualties." Most analysts, however, agreed that Israel would probably have ample warning of attack, because preparations for launching the Iraqi-al-Hussein missiles would take several hours and could be detected by electronic intelligence, satellite surveillance or even aerial reconnaissance.

It was in that atmosphere of heightened tensions that Gulf published its *GulfNet* issue based on interviews conducted from Dec. 5 to 9 showing the Superpowers' desire to combat Hussein in the Gulf war. Despite their distances from the scene of potential conflict, Canadians, like much of the rest of the world, were clearly growing weary in the prospect of a shooting war drew closer.

JONAH BERMAN with **EAN SIEFER** in Jerusalem and **correspondent** **Aaron**



U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia preparing for Iraqi biological warfare



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TURMOIL AT THE TOP

**AN ABRUPT
DEPARTURE AT
CIBC SIGNALLED
A MAJOR CHANGE
AT THE COUNTRY'S
NUMBER 2 BANK**

On a frosty evening five days before Christmas, Warren Moysey was the guest of honor at a dinner of wood-paneled rooms at the headquarters of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce in downtown Toronto. Despite the elegance of the surroundings, the atmosphere was strained. Six weeks earlier, Moysey, 52, had stepped down as president of the CIBC's retail operations. Musing his sudden departure on what he called a "philosophical disagreement" with the bank's hard-nosed chairman, Donald Fullerton. At the dinner, Fullerton was playing host to Moysey and 24 of the bank's senior executives. When the dinner ended, Moysey thanked his 50-year-old former boss for his hospitality. But in a pointed reference to his own insecurities, he also causticized his former colleague about "the fondness of trust" that can take place in an organization when long-serving employees lose their jobs.

Even now, Moysey refuses to discuss publicly the reasons for his abrupt departure from one of the most senior positions in the Canadian banking industry. But there's little doubt that his resignation signals a period of upheaval at the cbc, which under Fullerton's leadership has firmly established itself as the country's second-largest bank. In the past year, Fullerton has twice sent letters to the bank's middle and senior managers criticizing their performance and accusing them of complacency in the face of increased competition from other banks and trust companies. In an interview, Fullerton declined to say whether his current drive to overhaul the CIBC's management was a factor behind the sudden departure of Moysey, with whom he had worked closely for 20 years. But he added: "We're trying to professionalize our management. Cultural changes are always difficult to make sometimes."

In fact, some bank analysts speculate that



Moysey's 'philosophical disagreement' with the CIBC's hard-nosed chairman

Fullerton may have been dissatisfied with Moysey's efforts to improve the performance of the CIBC's consumer banking operations. As president of the retail division since 1986, Moysey was responsible for the bank's network of 1,257 domestic branches and 1,914 automated teller machines, as well as its portfolio of personal loans and mortgages. In the bank's financial year that ended Oct. 31, the cbc set aside \$174 million to cover losses on used-car consumer loans and residential mortgages. By contrast, the country's largest financial institution, the Royal Bank of Canada, set aside only \$115 million for consumer and mortgage losses in that period. "It's the one area that I'm not proud of in the last year," Moysey said. He added: "It was a grueling year. It was the

subject of a lot of internal discussions. But it didn't seem to be a showstopper."

Another concern for cbc executives was that the consumer banking division had failed to achieve its stated target for growth. In 1988, Moysey and the bank's senior officials agreed that what they referred to as Canada's "number 1 financial retailer" by 1991. Currently, the Royal Bank is the country's largest bank, followed by the cbc, the Bank of Montreal, the Bank of Nova Scotia and the Toronto-Dominion Bank. Moysey said that he sent a letter to all cbc employees last September telling them that the bank's research indicated that it had overtaken the Royal in terms of customer satisfaction. But the letter added that the Royal still had a larger

share of total personal bank deposits—and that there was no way that the cbc could close the gap by the end of 1990.

Fullerton has declined to say whether he was sceptical with the pace of growth during Moysey's term as president of the bank's retail operations. But the cbc chairman has made clear his intention to retire from the bank in 1993 or 1995. Said Moysey: "I'll be in that position and thinking I was going to return to the next one, two or three years; I'd probably want to see something different. Maybe that's his objective."

For his part, Fullerton told Maclean's that he was pleased by the bank's success performance. He added that he recognized the changes involved in trying to expand too rapidly. Among other things, a bank that aggressively attempts to increase its portfolio of consumer and mortgage loans runs the risk of causing too many bad loans. "Volume-driven strategy is not the policy of the bank," Fullerton said, "and we don't intend to make it the policy of the bank." He added that the bank's traditionally cautious approach to loaning out money was the reason why it was able to report record profits of \$450 million in the 1988-1990 fiscal year. "No bank ever makes the same kind of money as we do," he said. "But we have very conservative standards in accounting for problem loans and we are not encouraging a euphoric loan culture." Indeed, one senior cbc official and privately that Fullerton's approach appeared to be more cautious than Moysey's had been. But the executive, who requested that he not be identified, "Fullerton has been warning people for two years that the recession was coming and to make sure that the bank had a clean portfolio."

At the same time, Fullerton is clearly determined to strengthen the bank's management. In February, he sent a memorandum to the bank's senior and middle managers in which he urged them to be tougher in their employee evaluations. "There is no way that cbc can survive let alone prosper," the letter said. "If we allow even one of our personnel to be marginalized in our pursuit of providing value to our customers." Fullerton also complained about "middle-management malaise" and said that the bank's employees were too often managed in a "country club" fashion.

Fullerton acknowledged in the interview that his sternly worded directives had created "some discontent" among the bank's 45,300 full- and part-time employees. But he said that his objective was to improve the cbc's operations by ensuring that staff members received honest appraisals of their performance. "It is not being critical of management," he said. "It is being critical of people who manage employees. Anybody who interviews with that process is holding us back." Fullerton added that, at the top, senior managers were reluctant to deal openly with problems in the areas under their supervision. "They would avoid going into detail if honest appraisals and incentive pay that everything was going perfectly. We are dealing with the types of people who caused management problems to flow through an employee and management out to the customer."

Although cbc officials deny that a major reorganization of the bank's retail division is taking place, Moysey was not the only senior banker to leave the company. Last December, shortly after John McIver, the executive vice-president of cbc's retail arm, announced that he was retiring, Fullerton said that he, too, was resigning. Fullerton said that he left the bank because he was disappointed that he had not been chosen as Moysey's successor. Instead, the job went to 48-year-old Helge Kluge, who previously ran the bank's international operations.

To achieve the bank's goal of becoming Canada's leading financial retailer, Kluge will likely have to increase the number of cbc branches and automated banking machines across the country. At the same time, Kluge will have to repair the uncertainty created by Moysey's abrupt departure. "There is no friction," Fullerton assured. "As far as I am concerned, Moysey is a good friend of mine and will continue to be so." Clearly, though, Fullerton's drive to improve the cbc's performance has been driven through the ranks of the country's second-largest bank.

Business Notes

ECONOMY SHRINKS AGAIN

Canada ends deeper into a recession in October, but the descent doesn't necessarily flatten. Statistics Canada reported that the nation's gross domestic product, which has been declining since last April, fell by 0.7 per cent in October compared with a 0.7-per-cent drop in September. Slight growth in sectors such as rail and truck transportation and financial services offset some of the decline in manufacturing and construction.

NUCLEAR REACTOR SALE

Canada-owned Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. has sold its first nuclear reactor to a foreign buyer in a decade. Energy Minister John Topp announced that the Ottawa-based aecf has sold a \$60-million contract to build a second canda nuclear generating station in Wolsong, South Korea. It is the first foreign sale of a canda nuclear reactor agreed to by a canda

AIRLINE MERGER PALTTS

Trans World Airlines Inc. (twa) chairman Carl T. Tammie announced yesterday that Am. Corp. of "a lack of growth interest" after twa and competitor Pan Am called off a proposed merger of the two airlines. Both had offered \$420 million for Pan Am, but also wanted the cash-strapped airline to file for bankruptcy protection. Pan Am executives said that they wanted to continue negotiations, but were awaiting a more detailed offer from tma.

OTRMAN'S GOT TAXES

On Friday, the department of finance showed that Ottawa expects to collect \$20.1 billion in revenues from the new seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax (gst) during the fiscal year beginning April 1. A quarter of the total will come from taxes on clothing and footwear, housing and purchases of household supplies. The cft replaces the old 13.5-cent general merchandise sales tax, levied on a much narrower range of items, which would have pulled Ottawa an estimated \$11 billion over the same period had it remained in effect.

CREDIT CARD FOR SALE

As Canada announced that it wants to sell a majority interest in its麾麾 credit card division as part of a cost-cutting drive, the office announced the card is 1977, and there are now about 360,000 cards in use. Last fall, as Canada had off 2,300 employees and announced that it would sell its head office buildings in downtown Montreal in order to reduce expenses and raise cash.





The West's urgent cry to be heard

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As the year turns, it seems almost inevitable that come spring the tradition of discontent threatening to boil over will erupt again in Quebec, focusing national concern yet again on how to separate—or rejoin—French Canada's flagging separation. Western Canadians, who have watched that scenario unfold without their full participation since John Lougheed set off the Quiet Revolution in the early 1980s, now feel this time it will be different.

Whether they will, Quebec remains in Confederation or not—and most of those not on the map remain—the citizens of Canada's four western provinces will start to feel the heat as the country's manufactured steady according to French Canada's values and priorities. The vicious anomalies suffered by the West can no longer be ignored in working out the delicate equation of our national future. What westerners want is precisely what Quebecers want more control over their individual lives and collective destiny. Now.

For the last two decades after the Second World War, national attention was focused on the Prairie and British Columbia by the discovery of oil-and-gas reserves. The carrying out of an aluminum kingdom at Senneterre, rich mineral strikes and construction of the Trans-Canada pipeline. The focus then shifted to Ontario, where the country's industrial future was being moulded, and Quebec, where the struggle for cultural unity was being fought. The West left off out of both these processes, becoming increasingly isolated from the centre of decision and news-making, out there in the margin of the Toronto-dominated national media, its advocates ignored except for the occasional trickster, like that ascendit to which doctors in old-fashioned documentaries about Africa.

The West had plenty of grievances of its own but there was no political party to push them onto the national agenda. Such historical protest movements as the Progressive party, the United Farmers of Alberta, the Social Credit Party, and the New Democratic Party have

spawned the Prairie and sealed the Rockies. Even if he looks and sounds like a small-town optometrist, Manning is a strong organizer whose appeal has seriously eroded the once-irreproachable Terry Fox in Alberta, and spread his gospel to the other western provinces. Manning's absence of charisma or detailed platform has prompted competing politicians to assume his is a temporary and overblown phenomenon. What they forget is that Manning doesn't have to do very much, except be there. By providing western voters with an indigenous alternative—a voice of their own—Manning could sweep the four western provinces. If the next election, as expected, produces no majority mandate, he would hold the balance of power. That would rock the West as a major player at shaping Canada's future.

Unlike Quebec, where grievances are historical and cultural, western complaints and demands tend to be more specific. Westerners still recoil, as if it were yesterday, the \$1.8-billion maintenance contract awarded in November, 1987, to Montreal's Canadair Ltd., despite the technically and financially superior bid from Winnipeg's British Aerospace. Their eyes and ratiocini stamped with what they remember the Trudeau government's Nortel Savings Program that obliged them to sell Alberta crude at about half the world price to help subdue Ontario's manufacturing sector.

The most important issue is that of constitutional reform. In the recent seat distribution, Ottawa has done more to reward Alberta, and that's why demands for an elected, effective and equal Senate are as urgent. If there could a majority enabling westerners to nominate, a 45-decimated, written by B.C. Finance Minister Mel Lastman and agreed to by Alberta Treasurer Dick Johnston, presented to the western premiers at their first post-Meech meeting in Lloydminster, last July. If radical reorganization moves to a revolution against the way Ottawa has been handing national powers, particularly since the 14.2 billion federal government will pay in interest on the national debt, this year will be more than the combined total budgets of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

What the B.C. finance minister proposed was that Ottawa allow the western provinces to collect more income and corporation taxes, to take back full control over education and higher education, to impose a cap on federal budget deficits and to inaugurate a reasonably administered western tax to be used for social as well as regional economic purposes. "For too many years, the federal government has cajoled and forced its way into areas of provincial jurisdiction," Lastman declared. "The provinces have been hurt by the trap of shared-cost programs by a federal government carrying lever with its western and special interests. This has created demands for services we can't afford to provide. We propose a new relationship between the provinces and the federal government that protects the emerging worldwide search for more local autonomy, evidenced at the Seven Unions and elsewhere in Europe."

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PEOPLE

DIRECTING THE DIRECTOR

Australian director Fred Schepisi's latest movie, the espionage thriller *The Russia House*, opened last month to mixed reviews. But most critics agree that the casting of fellow director Ken Russell as a spiky British intelligence agent was inspired. Declared Schepisi, 53: "I wanted someone bold and eccentric and reasonably nondrop." Still, directorial instincts die hard. Said Schepisi: "There is an unwritten rule that only the director yells 'Cut!' Once, Ken flubbed his lines and yelled it." Added Schepisi: "He was so embarrassed, he ran off the set."

Recycled tales

In the "golden age of magazines in the '50s," says writer Karl Vonsigal, "I used to make what was then a fortune writing short stories." But, he added wistfully, "That was before television came along." Then, magazines like *Cahiers* and *The Saturday Evening Post* had "a better buy for subscribers." But now, Vonsigal's short stories have come back in vogue. Toronto-based Atlantic Film Ltd. is adapting some of his early works for television. Said Vonsigal, 66, who lives in Vancouver, last month to about 100 people at his home: "All my stuff is under option now, and I'm too old to care what happens to it." As for *Alfalfa's* resurgence, Vonsigal says, "I am startled by how good the scripts are. And they did it with no advice from me." Bill Vonsigal, author of such cult classics as *Slaughterhouse Five* and *Cat's Cradle*, takes some credit. He said, "I'm proud that the stories still make sense after all these years."

BOB GALT



Vonsigal: 'You old to care'



A NEW LOOK IN QUEBEC

Quebec singer star Mireille says that she is part of a new wave of thinking-women pop artists. Her recently released second album, *Mireille (Brand of Me)*, which sold more than 30,000 copies in its first week, she changed her bloodshot-blond image to a strapped autumn look. Said Mireille: "I needed a change to make people think. Anyway, it's normal. I'm only 26, and at that age you change your looks a lot." Part of her appeal, added Mireille, is that "I can be sexy and it doesn't take away from my intelligence—that's the new generation."

ACTING LESSONS FROM LIFE

Oscar-winning actress Anjelica Huston, who plays a nun in her latest movie, *The Grifters*, says that the experience that she portrays is like any other. Said Huston: "What these people do is their job, the way you and I go to our jobs every day." Huston, 39, the former longtime girlfriend of actor Jack Palance, also says that the harmful gossip about their longstanding breakup during filming last year helped her with the role. Said Huston: "If these kinds of things can be helpful, it made the character livelier."



Huston: 'gossip was hurtful, but helped her acting'

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SCIENCE

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Simpson in Guelph, Ont., trying to understand the universe—and its destiny

that many other scientists said was probably erroneous, he found that some neutrinos had a much higher mass than scientists had previously believed possible. But last November, scientists at a laboratory in Berkeley, Calif., disclosed that they had duplicated Simpson's results. Some physicists said that, as a result, theorists now may face the prospect of having to rethink some widely held theories about the creation and composition of the universe. Said Gerald Roy, a nuclear physicist at the University of Alberta in Edmonton: "If the theory is correct, it will turn a lot of things upside-down in the physics world."

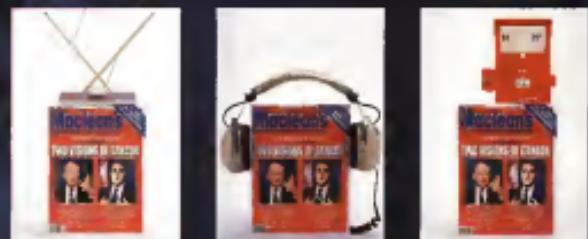
Simpson and that what he discovered in 1984 and its follow-up experiments were testimony to two different masses, including some with masses of 17 kiloelectronvolts (the mass of subatomic units is quoted in units of energy). Scientists previously had said that neutrinos

Simpson, a 31-year-old native of North Bay, Ont., who won a scholarship in 1982 to England's Oxford University, where he earned a PhD in physics, said that this was widespread skepticism about his discovery because it caused "some problems with physics as we know it." He added, "People were not inclined to tell me they did not believe it."

Now, the experimental findings reported by scientists at the U.S. department of energy's Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in Berkeley could change that. Eric Norman, a nuclear physicist at that lab, disclosed at a physics conference held in Czechoslovakia in November that experiments carried out in the Berkeley laboratory appeared to confirm Simpson's discovery. Norman told Maclean's that he subsequently submitted a paper on his findings to *Physical Review Letters*, and editors at the review and that Norman's paper was being

seen by little or no mass. Simpson made his discovery with the help of a particle accelerator, a device that shoots atomic particles at near-light speed of light, at McMaster University in Hamilton. But after Simpson published his findings in the New York City-based journal *Physical Review Letters* in April 1985, scientists in Canada, the United States and Europe were unable to duplicate his findings in experiments of their own. As well,

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Town's Great Seal No. 1 (1961); Town in 1977 (bottom); television experimenter

OBITUARY

Gifted and prolific

Harold Town was at home in many art forms

By the mid-1970s, Harold Town had been revered and reviled by the Canadian art world. "The Establishment," the Toronto artist and in a 1975 interview, "has never forgiven me because for five years—from 1960 to 1965—I was probably the most controversial artist in Canada. They were trying to destroy me, having once floated me on their hand-wagon." But 15 years later, a three retrospective of his work mounted by the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto demonstrated renewed acceptance in his art. Throughout the up-and-downs, Town remained one of the most prolific and consistently creative artists the country has produced. Last week, at the age of 66, he died of cancer at his home near Peterborough, Ont. Said former *Saturday Night* editor Robert Fulford, a long-time admirer of Town's talent: "He had more ways of approaching art than anyone in the country."

Indeed, few Canadian artists—if any—have matched him in range or output. Rapidly as his element with abstract and figurative painting styles, he also made prints, collages and sculptures. Town was an exceptionally gifted draftsman and a lively, spontaneous writer on the subjects he loved, his personal notebooks of works in progress filling boxes and boxes. For his first made-for-TV film, *Painting with Harold Town* (as a leading member of the influential Postmen of Keweenaw, a group that introduced abstract expressionism to Toronto), a relatives experimenter throughout his career, Town followed his own enthusiasm, frequently bypassing the fashionable styles of the moment—and accepting the consequent obscurity. "Nothing was going to divert him from what was the really essential heart of his life, and that was doing his work," said David Barnett, director of the Art Gallery of Ontario's 1988 retrospective of Town's work. He added, "Whether people recognized



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MAY 1991



What Canada needs is a new outlook

BY DALTON CAMP

I have just come of reading Casper Weinberger's book (*Fighting for Peace: Seven Days in the Pentagon*). "Cap" Weinberger—remember?—was presidential Ronald Reagan's first secretary of defense. In his book, he says here: "Canada's 'retreat to what seems' ... while providing a laudable glimpse into the hidden world of superpower diplomacy." More than that, my own copy is inscribed in Cap's own hand: "For Dalton Camp with best wishes."

The inscription makes one of two Canadas found in Weinberger's book (484 pages, including index); the other is Brian Mulroney. In summing up his seven years fighting for peace, the author pictures Canada once and only recently, as in "Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada."

This is not to be read as if it's complete—the old, familiar whining about Canada being always left out, overlooked and unacknowledged. So, it's true. Looking back on those heady years of superpower diplomacy, when it comes to Canada—what it did or didn't do for the cause—"Cap" comes up empty.

The Prime Minister of Canada has a certain role *Fighting for Peace*, meeting with President Reagan at the White House. "In one delighted lurchion" at which "these two heads of government had elaborate briefing books, detailed discussions of issues, ... and much useful background material."

"Cap" was there: "We went over 30 minutes into Dalton's office a single thought had not entered: The President and the Prime Minister had been exchanging Irish stories at a fast and furious pace, so the President had accumulated a memory bank of jokes about as extensive as his own. When we did reach item one on the agenda, the discussion rolled along for more smoothly and quickly than anyone had expected."

The point of the anecdote, and Mulroney's appearance in the book, is to illustrate what

In power terms, Canada does not cast a shadow but stands in one. No one down there much cares what we do.

Weinberger calls Reagan's "image," which is not otherwise quite stiff and difficult to deal with, or heads of government ... very much at their ease. ... This can-and-does produce some vital agreements [but] another logic, not table reading, nor cycling could bring about."

This may or may not be true. In the history of relationships between U.S. presidents and Canadian prime ministers, it has not made a number of different strokes for different heads. Reagan dined on Rouenaise at the cost of the best. Nixon was honored and by Trudeau, Johnson, it is said, in turn, Canada chose to do physical violence to Peter Lougheed through The Blue Book without a bit of a fight. And so on. But if the recipe for smooth sailing in producing real understandings between a president and a head of state or government calls for 30 minutes of Irish jokes, the first thing we will need in two instances, I mean. Would it work with Bill Smith? Me to the point, would it work with anyone who was not Canadian?

What I get from Weinberger is a straightforward conviction that what this country needs is a new political philosophy, something I happen to have right here: it is called *superpower*. Canadians at all work to eliminate tension and establishment; they concentrate on structure,

(there is also minimalist music, not moonballed) in our policies, except with liaison and establishment; a well-rounded minimalist peace minister would consider the nation's policies and priorities to conflict with its relatives. (This would be an act of reductions, sponsored for instance.)

Seriously. Looking out over the swamp that was Messch Lake, looking back at Oita, and recalling the recent brush with subtocracy in the Senate, why are we in the Persian Gulf? True, almost the whole world has set its face against Iraq. But not everyone has lost a military presence. All support the sanctions, some have sent money, and many will help clean up after. But Canada's fighter squadron and modest naval forces stationed in the Gulf make for a minimalist's nightmare: an ornately established liaison, and where it could end—with any sort of luck—in deep doo-doo, in George Bush would say.

The liaison represents another triumph for the mountaineers. These are people who do elaborate things to stand, such as building buildings in which they live, sightseeing. Geologic catalogues, the size of themselves, have come along; mountaineers have been members of Canada's foreign policy, enlarging our commitments while shrinking our military establishment.

Diplomacy, someone said, is in the shadow power cast. In power terms, Canada does not cast a shadow but stands in one. "Cap" Weinberger's book is another in a library of Americans, all confirming what Canadians know and their governments refuse to admit: No one down there much cares, much less remembers, what we do, a fact of life mountaineers either deny or explore and journalists celebrate. But if Canadian governments would stop trying so hard to please, the first positive result would be that no one would notice.

Reading Weinberger, who simply tells it like it is, serves as a useful tool to memory. Many of us have forgotten, or never knew, that Reagan's good friend Margaret Thatcher was adamantly opposed to the American invasion of Grenada. She doesn't remember the Brits doing less than half as well there than they did that. So did she ever know? Or that when Reagan dined on Rouenaise at the cost of the best, Nixon was honored and by Trudeau, Johnson, it is said, in turn, Canada chose to do physical violence to Peter Lougheed through The Blue Book without a bit of a fight. And so on. But if the recipe for smooth sailing in producing real understandings between a president and a head of state or government calls for 30 minutes of Irish jokes, the first thing we will need in two instances, I mean. Would it work with Bill Smith? Me to the point, would it work with anyone who was not Canadian?

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Hello.
Hi, remember me – your wife?



Jennifer, where are you? I was starting to worry.

WEDNESDAY 6:25 P.M.

Remember last week when you took my car fishing with the guys?

Yeah?

You didn't happen to see my spare tire did you?

Well, yeah – I took it out to make room
for all the gear.

I see. Well, I guess that explains why I couldn't find it in my trunk.

Oh no, Jen, don't tell me –

I'm at the Brock turn-off with a flat.

Jen, I'm sorry...are you really mad?
Let's just say your tackle box is
about to be run over by a transport.

I'll be right there.



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